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A. O. Rutson.

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Handwritten signature or mark.

Albert D. Putnam
Jan. 1882

SOME BRIEF COMMENTS

Feb. 23 1884

ON

PASSING EVENTS,

MADE

BETWEEN

FEBRUARY 4TH, 1858,

AND

OCTOBER 5TH, 1881.

BY

THE RIGHT HON'BLE MOUNTSTUART E. GRANT DUFF.

MADRAS:

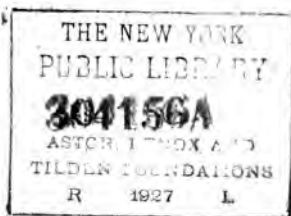
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NOTE.

It occurred to me, some months ago, while I was arranging my papers, that it would be very convenient for those who had to deal with them after my death, to have some sort of clue to my opinions upon the public questions which chiefly engaged my attention, from the day on which I took my seat on February 4th, 1858, to my departure from England on October 5th, 1881.

The simplest way to provide them with this appeared to be to run through such of my speeches, articles, and addresses as I had by me in India, and to mark, for the copyist, those passages which seemed to give a fair notion of the views I had held and expressed, from time to time, about matters of importance. This was easily done, and the result is the volume to which I put this prefatory note.

I had originally intended to have had only just sufficient copies printed to put these sheets beyond the reach of any accident, which could reasonably be foreseen; but, as they grew beneath my eye, I was led to think that some of my friends might be glad to possess them—as a memorial of old times and old companionship.

I have accordingly had a few extra copies struck off for distribution.

OOTACAMUND,

September 16th, 1884.

PART I.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

FRANCE.

FRANCE—OUR RELATIONS WITH HER IN 1858.

But if the events of 1846 and 1847 are trumpet-tongued in proclaiming the expediency of a cordial union between England and France, we must not forget that the preservation of friendship between the two nations, for any considerable space of time, requires, on the part of the rulers of either country, the possession of statesmanlike ability of a very high order. It is, we fear, but too true, that we can only count by thousands those Englishmen who really understand and appreciate France, and by hundreds those Frenchmen who understand and appreciate England. In spite of all flourishes about Alma and Inkermann, the melancholy fact yet remains that we can hardly take up a newspaper containing an account of the concerted operations of Frenchmen and Englishmen without finding proofs, not of rivalry in renown, but of deep and scarce concealed antipathy. No one can have travelled much in France without seeing that the feelings which are entertained towards us, by the country population, are the same which animated of old the peasant girl of Domremy; while the half-enlightened inhabitants of the towns hate us for our manners, for our national prosperity, most of all for that very wealth which is year by year

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poured forth so lavishly amongst them. And how is it with ourselves? Subtract the small educated class, and how few do we find who have got over the hatreds of centuries and the bitterness of the Napoleonic wars. Increased communication and extended knowledge of each others language will, of course, tend to diminish national hostility; but the existing generation of statesmen will have given place to another, and they again to a third, before any real friendship can be cemented. We will not, even under the influence of the melancholy lessons of the last few weeks, give way to sadder presages; we will not believe that *Pugnent ipsique nepotesque* was laid as a hereditary malison on the victors of Hastings or of Agincourt. Our duty at least is plain,—to maintain, in spite of the superior attractions of what the Germans call the ‘policy of tendency,’ that attitude of forbearance towards our wayward neighbour, which European, even more than English, interests demand; that earnest desire to hope and to believe all things which may, in the end, overcome the deep-rooted prejudices of race, of religion, and of war. [Continental Review, 1858.]

THE COMMERCIAL TREATY OF 1860.

I will approach the consideration of this much-canvassed treaty from its weakest side,—the side which has been alluded to by the noble lord who spoke a few minutes ago from the opposite side of the House (Lord R. Montagu). It is said, and with some plausibility, that we, the free Parliament of England, are conspiring with the ruler of France to defraud the Parliament of France of its right to discuss a great change in the commercial policy of that country. But this objection disappears when the state of the case is understood. There is no real Parliament in France. The body called the Corps Legislatif has nothing in common with that illustrious assembly which once gathered within

the same walls, and was swayed by the eloquence of M. Thiers and M. Guizot, M. Berryer and M. de Lamartine. A great deal has been said on the other side of the House as to the election of the Corps Legislatif by universal suffrage, but surely every one is aware that, with rare exceptions, the members of that body are, to all intents and purposes, nominated by the Government. Why then should it be said that we are not at liberty to treat with the Emperor directly ; but that it is our duty to force him, by a pedantic adherence to political purism, to effect the desired change in the commercial system of France by means of an assembly of his creatures.

It seems to me that the only question which we have a right to ask is, whether or not the treaty is good in itself ; and I think that it has been conclusively shown that it is good.

There is one point, however, which has not been taken up, on which I wish to say a few words. The conclusion of the treaty at this particular juncture would be of immense advantage to Europe. In at least two great countries, a struggle is going on between the money-making tendency and the warlike tendency. In Germany this struggle is most fiercely waged, and in France it is not less remarkable. No one can doubt about the strength of the warlike tendency, if he recalls the extreme bitterness of the tone which the French papers adopted towards England a few months ago ; and as to the money-making tendency, it requires but little acquaintance with the social state of France to know that a great change has taken place during the last ten years. Till lately, the small traders in the towns and the rural population hoarded their savings in five-franc pieces, until they had enough to buy a little patch of land. Now, however, the small traders everywhere, and the peasantry in many districts, buy Government securities and shares in industrial under-

takings, most of which are quite sure to be depreciated by war. That surely is a great gain to the cause of peace. By upholding the treaty, we shall encourage this tendency. It may be said that this is merely casting out Moloch by Mammon. Well, be it so ; if the contest is to be between the two, by all means let us support the milder spirit.

But, it is said, that we might have obtained equal advantages without fettering ourselves by a treaty. Those who say so altogether miscalculate the strength of the Protectionists and Prohibitionists in France. They did not witness, as I did, the outburst of indignation with which the announcement of the treaty was met by many circles in Paris. Why, it is only a month or two ago that in the place which one would have fancied to have been the very citadel of liberal opinions on these subjects, in the Académie de Sciences Morales et Politiques, a most lively discussion took place on some of the elementary doctrines of political economy, in which if M. de Lavergne and others supported the right side, M. Cousin and M. Troplong,—great names,—were opposed to them.

Passing from the treaty to the closely-allied subject of the wine duties, I will only allude to one obvious consideration. It is said that the British palate will never reconcile itself to French wines. I have no doubt that other speakers will refute this erroneous opinion by an appeal to the novelists of last century, and above all to the English dramatists of the century before ; but I will refer merely to the case of Scotland. It is notorious that, up to a comparatively recent period, French wines were largely consumed in Scotland. Honorable members will remember the epigram—

“ Firm and erect the Caledonian stood,
Prime was his mutton and his claret good.
‘ Let him drink port ! ’ the English statesman cried ;
He drank the poison, and his spirit died.”

[*House of Commons, February 1860.*]

LOUIS NAPOLEON IN 1860.

Louis Napoleon, then, is neither so bad nor so able as is currently supposed. "It is his fate," said one who knew him well, "to be always misconceived. People used to think him a *Crétin*, and now they think him a God." As we turn over page after page of his writings, we are compelled to admit that he has ideas and aspirations which are, to a certain extent, reflected in his policy. True, the ideas are often wrong-headed, while the policy is dyed deeply with self-interest and a low kind of expediency; but he is not a vulgar tyrant of the old world type. With regard to his intellect, the *mot de l'énigme* was hit on by a statesman who served him before the *coup d'état*, who, speaking lately of the sudden turns of his policy, observed, '*Il ne sait pas la différence entre rêver et penser.*' He carries out his projects with great prudence and coolness, but he devises them in the spirit of an enthusiast. Hence arise strange contradictions. The fire and the water meet, and the whole vanishes in vapour. It was thus that his dream of Italy free from the Alps to the Adriatic melted away in front of that grim Quadrilateral. It was thus that his design of raising Hungary in rebellion and avenging on Austria the wrongs which she had inflicted on his uncle, disappeared before the shadow of a coming coalition. Louis Napoleon is a sufficiently acute man to have foreseen both the difficulties of the Lombardo-Venetian campaign, and the possible complications which might have resulted from an insurrection on the Danube; but his imagination was powerfully affected by the picture which it called up, and reason was silent till he was face to face with possible disaster.

No one has ever called him blood-thirsty. He does not even appear to be vindictive. The expressions which he makes use of in his works, with regard to his enemies are not particularly strong. He has always shown marked civility

to those who were kind to him in his exile. Even amongst people who habitually spoke of him as *fourbe* and *coquin*, we have always heard him described as a man who would rather do anybody a good turn than a bad one. He appears to have been really affected by the carnage of Solferino, as well as awed by the tremendous magnitude of the conflict. It is impossible not to sympathise more with him than with the legitimate and hereditary oppressors of mankind.

[*Saturday Review* (Spring of 1860), reprinted in '*A Few Words on France by a Scottish M.P.*']

THE COMMERCIAL TREATY OF 1860.

It is not surprising that those who look upon the Commercial Treaty as a blunder and a misfortune should think that the late session was wasted; but I cannot understand language of this sort in the mouths of those who believe it to be a great blessing to us all. From the first I have been strongly in its favor. I was in Paris when it was announced, and witnessed the profound irritation which it caused amongst the French Protectionists. I was much gratified by receiving a month or two ago a note from an English gentleman,* not at first a partisan of the measure, with whom I had discussed it at the beginning of the session, and who since has had the very best official opportunity of knowing exactly what was passing in France. He assured me that everything had turned out infinitely better than he had expected, and that the details of the treaty were being arranged with great fairness by the French authorities.

[*At Elgin, October 1st, 1860.*]

RELATIONS OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE IN 1861.

Many of you have read, no doubt, the remarks which were recently made by Lord Palmerston in a speech at Dover

* Sir Louis Mallet.

These remarks have attracted the more attention, because they called forth a somewhat angry rejoinder from a most eminent person, and a good friend of this country,—I mean M. Michel Chevalier. This gentleman,—to whom the great, the almost sacred cause of Free-trade owes so much,—took Lord Palmerston to task in an address which he recently delivered at Montpellier, as if Lord Palmerston had been actuated by passions which belonged to another and a less enlightened age. Now, I am sure no one, who knows what he is talking about, will accuse me of being wanting in respect for M. Michel Chevalier, for whom publicly and privately I have the sincerest esteem. He is a good man and an able man; he is a great political economist, but he wants, perhaps, that political sense which is so necessary to a statesman. Very early in life he embraced, like not a few who have since become eminent among our neighbours, the St. Simonian opinions, and although he has long since, I doubt not, out-lived that phase of belief, one cannot help seeing in this Montpellier address, traces of the same habit of mind which was so conspicuous in his youth. He looks at the Emperor and his doings through rose-colored spectacles. Because Napoleon III. is a convert to Free-trade, because he has done, and is doing, much for the material prosperity of France, M. Chevalier forgets all that is menacing to other nations in the attitude which he adopts abroad, all that is debasing and dangerous to France in the repressive policy which he enforces at home. To read his panegyric, one would think that that golden age of which St. Simon himself so truly said, “It is not in the past but in the future,” had indeed arrived. It made me think of a leading article which I read some months ago in a Piedmontese newspaper, which announced to the world that “under the auspices of Victor Emmanuel, Lord Palmerston, and Napoleon III., good had at length commenced to prevail over evil.” Now, I say to

M. Chevalier, and I am sure I speak the sentiments of most of his English friends—

We believe that on the friendship of France and England depends the happiness of our age. We believe that a war with France would do more to imperil the results of civilisation, and to retard its advance, than almost anything that could be mentioned. We are ready to admit that, in all the negotiations connected with the Commercial Treaty, the French Government behaved with the strictest honor, and with the greatest courtesy. We know that our friendly sentiments are reciprocated by many persons in all classes in France. We know that the Emperor himself reciprocates them, with certain reservations; but we also know that the masses in France do not reciprocate them. We know that hatred of England is deeply rooted amongst the peasantry and in the army. We know that, at any moment, the scruples of the enlightened, and the wishes of the Emperor himself, would have to be disregarded if the popular voice called loudly for war with England. And who shall say that, if England interfered with any of the wild schemes of ambition which possess so many minds in France, the popular voice would not do so?

To show how thoroughly unsettled people's ideas of political right and wrong have become beyond the Channel, I will relate a conversation which I had in Paris, last December, with an eminent French political writer,*—one, indeed, of the half-dozen most eminent political writers in France. We were discussing the decrees of the 24th of November last, which, as you will remember, made a material and salutary change in the Constitution established after the *coup d'état*, when my friend observed, "Well, France seems to me between two great fortunes. Either we shall have more liberty at

* M. Prévost-Paradol.

home, or we shall have the Rhine." "What on earth do you want with the Rhine?" I said. "Oh," he replied, "it would give us a frontier." "We in England," I rejoined, "do not think a river so valuable a frontier as you seem to do." "Of course not," he said; "God has given you the best of all frontiers,—the sea,—and you can well afford to despise a river-frontier; but, depend upon it, if France had the frontier of the Rhine, even without the fortresses on its banks, all Europe could not get across it."

Now, I appeal to M. Chevalier, is this merely the dream of an individual, or is it a fair expression of the feeling of multitudes? Is it or is it not true that the acquisition of Savoy and Nice was the most popular act done by any French Government since the fall of Napoleon I.? We cannot allow M. Chevalier to lull us into security by the pleasant dreams which seem congenial to his nature. While ardently, passionately anxious to keep the peace with France, we must be prepared for the wretched alternative. I trust, however, that the many knots, which have to be untied in Europe, will be untied without war on the great scale, and that a better future than any one would venture confidently to predict, awaits our generation. In the hopeful words of Tocqueville, "I will not believe in the continuance of darkness, merely because I do not see the new sun which is destined to arise."

[*At Elgin, September 18th, 1861.*]

THE VOLUNTEER MOVEMENT.

The Volunteer movement I take to be the most important guarantee for the peace of Europe which recent times have seen. Its moral effect on the Continent has been great, and will be greater when its magnitude is better understood. M. Esquiros, already well known by his excellent work on Holland and by other publications, has led the

way in an article in the *Revue des deux Mondes*, in which he has pointed out the absurdity of the saying which has been so much repeated of late, that Great Britain is a naval but not a military nation. I am glad that the people of this city, and of this constituency generally, have not been behind in the good work. The distrust of the designs of France which prevailed so generally last autumn was not, I think, ill-founded. I can vouch at least for this being the view of many of the people in Paris who are best able to form an opinion. [At Elgin, October 1st, 1860.]

FRANCE AND ENGLAND IN 1863.

You know too well what I think of our relations with France for me to say much upon that subject. Mr. Cobden would tell us, no doubt, that the feelings with regard to England, which constantly find vent in the press of France, are those of vulgar prejudice; but a vulgar prejudice which actuates so many of the scholars, the orators, and the warriors of a great country, as well as the mass of its population, is quite as likely to influence its conduct as reason and common sense. [At Elgin, September 9th, 1863.]

THE PARIS EXHIBITION OF 1867.

The most auspicious event in the internal affairs of the French empire, during the past year, was the success of the Great Exhibition and the concourse of rulers in Paris, which enabled the panegyrists of the nephew to say that he had reached even a higher pinnacle of glory than the uncle, when "Talma was playing at Erfurt to a pitful of kings;" or when, as I once heard the late Prince Esterhazy describe, Napoleon I. held his court at Moritzburg on his way to Russia, amidst a not less brilliant crowd. I hope this last reminiscence may not be ominous, for the old man added in the next breath—

"I saw him pass through Dresden, a few months afterwards, in a sledge with one attendant." This remarkable gathering in the Champs de Mars will remain, in the imagination of our neighbours, the most brilliant portion of a picture which has not wanted shadow. The dark background, against which the Great Exhibition stands out, is formed by the commercial distress, by the embarrassment of several great pecuniary undertakings peculiarly connected with the Imperialist régime, by considerable popular discontent, but, above all, by the terrible catastrophe of Mexico.

[*At Peterhead, December 19th, 1867.*]

M. THIERS IN 1867.

"The level of intellect is sinking in France," says M. Dupont-White, by no means a violent writer; and the remark seems, as far as I can judge, to be perfectly correct. One sees this not only in the absurdities of the servile Parliamentary majority; one sees it in a different way, even in the writings of some most gifted members of the Opposition. Surely nothing but the necessity of finding the deeply-hated Government wrong in everything it does, could have perpetuated the influence of a political heresiarch like M. Thiers.

[*At Peterhead, December 19th, 1867.*]

FRANCE IN 1868.

France possesses few political writers so distinguished as M. Prévost-Paradol. Paris is never wearied of praising his felicitous turns of expression, and the Academy opened its doors to him at an exceptionally early age. With all that his countrymen say about his brilliancy of expression, readers in other countries cannot fail to agree; but when they go on to praise, not the manner, but the matter, we are obliged to part company with them. The last chapter of his recent

work, *La France Nouvelle* is a compendium of everything that a wise Frenchman should *not* think about foreign politics. It would be difficult to point to any piece of writing more calculated to do mischief by irritating the self-love of a proud and susceptible people. If we are to choose between the foreign policy of this *quasi*-Liberal manifesto, and the foreign policy of the Imperial Government, we cannot have a moment's hesitation in thanking Heaven that the grip of a power, which has hitherto proved irresistible, is at the throat of all those who sit at the feet of M. Thiers.*

M. Prévost-Paradol would probably say that the disapproval of the rivals and enemies of his country,—and he considers every nation which is tolerably near and tolerably powerful to be an enemy,—is only a confirmation of the truth of his views. I must, however, disclaim, in the most emphatic manner, any hostility to France. Like M. Prévost-Paradol, I am obliged to admit that the question of cosmopolitan preponderance is already decided against the French, and in favour of the Anglo-Saxon race; but it seems to me that, in Europe, France may still for a long time hold the first place. The way, however, to do this, is not to rush into a mad war with Germany, in which victory and defeat would be almost alike disastrous, but so to order her internal affairs as to prevent the disproportion between the numbers of Frenchmen and Germans becoming so alarmingly great. M. Prévost-Paradol himself admits that from 1817 to 1864, the population of Prussia increased by 82 per cent., while the population of France only increased by 25 per cent. What France wants in order to keep or improve her European position is,—*first*, a rate of increase more proportioned to that of her rivals; *secondly*, an extension of the beneficent policy inaugurated by the commercial treaty of 1860; *thirdly*, a

* See for a statement of my opinions with regard to M. Thiers,—an article on *Senior's Conversations* in the *Nineteenth Century* for August 1878.

disarmament on a sufficiently large scale materially to add to her industry; *fourthly*, internal tranquillity; and *fifthly*, the adoption of such an attitude in her foreign policy as may allow her productive classes to devote their whole energy to their natural work, instead of losing time in speculations as to how many weeks or days peace is likely to continue.

[*A Political Survey, published in December 1868.*]

FRANCE IN 1870.

M. Prévost-Paradol, whose untimely fate threw such a gloom over Parisian society a few months ago, but of whom we may almost think now as of one taken away from the evil to come, looked forward with deep melancholy to the prospect that his country would ere long exchange the position of Rome for that of Athens; would cease to be able

“To spare the subject, and war down the proud;”

and would influence the nations of the world only by her intellect, not by her arms. I am afraid he would have been the first to welcome, with a view to avoiding that consummation, this foolish and disastrous war, if, at least, it had been commenced by a Government to which he wished heartily well. There was small chance, when he wrote his last book, that France would have to content herself with playing a peaceful part in Europe; but now it really seems as if this were not impossible. Will such a state of things, if it comes about, be so very calamitous for that great country? Was there not a time when the German empire was the country, *par excellence*, of politics and war, when Paris was the centre of study for all Christendom? We have become so accustomed to think of Paris as the capital of pleasure; the focus of all State intrigue; the fierce and imperious beauty, ever ready to bid her legions sweep across her neighbour's frontiers, that we are apt to forget this well-known historical

fact; and now that Barbarossa has at length awoke with a vengeance, and is standing before the walls of a city greater than Milan,* we rub our eyes in amazement as if a new thing had come to us. Yet, after all, the truest conquests of France have been the conquests of her intellect. The conquests of Louis XIV. and of Napoleon may be won back; but her intellectual conquests of the eighteenth century will never be won back, till the Seine runs up from the sea. It is not a little remarkable that the last great literary event which happened in Germany before the declaration of war was the publication of a remarkably fair and appreciative biography, by a German, of Voltaire, the most French of Frenchmen. It was the publication of that work which led to the correspondence between Strauss and Renan, which has been not the least remarkable incident connected with the clash of the two civilisations.

[*At Elgin, November 15th, 1870.*]

FRANCE AND GERMANY.

France herself would have had nothing, absolutely nothing, to fear from Germany, if she could only have let well or ill, as she pleased to consider it, alone. And was she not warned, and warned by one who was latterly more a Frenchman than a German? Some of you may remember the words of the terrible prophecy which I quoted at the end of my speech to you in 1867. Have they not come true? Listen. I said, "Were I to say anything of Foreign Politics at this moment, it would only be to ask some of my friends in France to re-read those pages in which, a generation ago, one whom they afterwards came to know well,—the invalid of the Rue d'Amsterdam,†—gave them a solemn, and,

* I was thinking of the vigorous lines of Strachwitz—

"Fürwahr ihr Longobarden das war ein schwerer Trüß
Den Friedrich Barbarossa durch Mailand's Bresche ritt."

† Henri Heine.

as it seems, by no means a superfluous warning. 'When you hear the noise and the tumult of the German Revolution, be on your guard, our dear neighbours of France, and don't mix yourselves up with the business we are about. It may work you harm if you do. Have a care not to fan the fire. Have a care not to extinguish it, for you may very easily burn your fingers! If in by-gone times, in our state of indolence and serfage, we were able to measure ourselves with you, we shall be much better able to do so now, in the arrogant intoxication of our young liberty. You know yourselves what a State can do in such a moment as that, and you yourselves are not now in such a moment.' "

[*At Elgin, November 15th, 1870.*]

FRANCE—HER LOSS OF ALSACE AND LORRAINE, 1870.

There are some who tell us that France, deprived of several of her limbs, that is, of Alsace and part of Lorraine, will fall into convulsions and perish. Such language makes one think of the prayer of Paul Louis Courier: "May Heaven defend us from the Evil One, and from metaphors!" No proof whatever can be brought forward to show that a loss of territory to France would be followed by any such result.

[*At Elgin, November 15th, 1870.*]

EMILE OLLIVIER IN 1872.

M. Emile Ollivier is now down in the world. It is the fashion to abuse him, and no doubt he made one of the most terrible and deadly blunders that ever was made by a public man; but, having said this, I will also say, from long and intimate acquaintance, that his impulses were always generous, that in many respects his opinions were far more enlightened than those of many persons who ran him down as a deserter to Imperialism.

[*At Elgin, 1872.*]

FRANCE IN 1875.

Our own is not the only country where a period of comparative inaction has succeeded one of exigency and endeavour. The same phenomenon may be observed in France, where, however, there was very much more need of rest than there was on this side of the Channel, where, to say the truth, there was very little or none. I passed some days in Paris in March 1874. Then the tone of every one I encountered was one of extreme disquiet. No one was satisfied with what existed. Every one was expecting a change, and not an agreeable change. "If you stop," said a very eminent person to me, "the first hundred men whom you meet in the street and ask them what is wanted for France, ninety-nine out of the hundred will reply—a Dictatorship, a Dictatorship of some one or other, we don't much care of whom, if only he be a Dictator." It would be difficult to put more strongly one's uneasiness at the existing state of things. Another person, not less eminent, said to me, "I think what we are most likely to see is a return of the empire, but of the empire worsened in every way: each of the men whom we associate with Napoleon III., and against whom there was enough to be said, being replaced by some one with far more faults and far fewer merits. In fact, I expect an empire without the best thing in it, which was the Emperor."

I passed through Paris again, the other day, on my way back from the East, and again I saw a good many people. It seemed to me that the tone was in every respect better and more hopeful. None of those I saw were republicans, and so they could not be suspected of being in better heart because their own ideas had gained during last year; but they shrugged their shoulders, and said, "You know we are not republicans, but, on the whole, things are getting on pretty well, and, if we saw no danger from without, we should be fairly comfortable." The danger from without, which

they anticipate, comes from Germany. A vast number of Frenchmen have persuaded themselves that the German military leaders do not think that the power of France to annoy Germany was sufficiently broken by the late campaign, and believe that these very influential counsellors of the Berlin Government are continually pressing for a renewal of the war. Further, they conceive that Prince Bismarck believes that a new war with France would be the readiest means to prevent the dissensions, which have been excited by his ecclesiastical policy, attaining formidable proportions. I wish these fears were wholly without foundation, but, unfortunately, there is no denying that the military spirit has taken a greater hold of Germany than her best friends could wish. France is herself chiefly to blame for this, for it was the fear of French aggression, continued for several generations up to 1870, which did more than anything else to develop that evil beyond the Rhine. You may say of military glory what Thierry said of history: "History does not let go her victim; he who has drunk but once of that strong and bitter wine, will drink it to his life's end." However in accordance with experience such a phenomenon may be, one does not the less regret it and appeal from one's German friends of 1875 to one's German friends of even ten years ago. [At Elgin, May 1875.]

FRANCE AS SEEN IN SENIOR'S CONVERSATIONS.

Those persons who do not believe that up to the signature of the Commercial Treaty of 1860, we were more than once in very serious danger of having a quarrel forced upon us by our nearest neighbour, will find much in these volumes which will be disagreeable to them upon that subject, and but little which they will like; but it is highly desirable that the public, which has, since the war of 1870, been dreaming of

dangers from all kinds of impossible quarters, should be recalled to the fact that the one power, which could be seriously troublesome to us, if it would, is France; and that for that reason every movement there, tending to diminish the hateful military spirit, which has brought so much inconvenience to all Europe, should be eagerly welcomed and every symptom of an opposite nature carefully watched. Happily, there is great reason to believe that the masses of the peasantry in France are getting better to understand their power, and when the masses of the peasantry understand their power, the days of vast armaments are numbered in France as elsewhere. Let us do all to knit together the two nations by the bonds of common interest and common agreement in sane views of European politics; but let us cherish no sentimental illusions as to all old grudges having been forgotten, or any specially friendly feelings being permanently entertained. If the policy of 1860 could be carried to its fullest consequences, all would soon be well; but the ghost of M. Thiers will walk for some time longer.

[*The Nineteenth Century*, August 1878.]

FRANCE IN 1881.

Coming nearer home, we may observe, with some regret, that France has started on a new career of conquest. 'With some regret,' I say, for the sake of France, not for the sake of her neighbours, who can only gain by her being employed elsewhere. France is rich, but she has one 'opera-box,' as Louis Philippe called it, in Algeria already, and she can hardly, with advantage to herself, have a second one in Tunis.

* * * *

I wish we saw more new men of mark and merit in the new Chamber. The deficiency of such is perhaps the least

satisfactory feature in the present as compared with the near past of France. I was thinking the other day how many more people there were when I was a young man, whom a foreigner going over to Paris would have wanted to come to know than there are now. Very few luminaries, indeed, are above the horizon in 1881, which were not above it in the end of the fifties. And how many have sunk in night!

[*At Banff, September 1881.*]

ITALY.

BELGIUM AND SARDINIA IN 1858.

The eye of the lover of constitutional freedom, as it wanders across Europe, passes carelessly over its great empires and glittering capitals, to rest upon two small countries. Nearly equal in population, Belgium and Sardinia are not only separated by a wide extent of territory, but are as diverse as possible in their physical conformation. The one hears through all its rugged provinces those two old voices of Liberty, 'the voice of the mountains and the voice of the sea;' while the other, from the oak-clad limestone heights along the Upper Meuse to the bustling quays of Antwerp, presents a long succession of pictures which are suggestive only of submission and of peace,—bright streams which hurry down green valleys to turn the wheels of factories, corn-fields like those which Rubens painted around his own home, and broad canals which wind amongst vast piles of building such as were raised in rich cities before commerce was divorced from beauty.

These two States entered, within the memory of men who are still young, upon the difficult path of organic reform, and they have pursued, and are pursuing it, amidst resemblances and contrasts which are well worthy of attention.

While it would be a mistake to compare the modern royalty of Belgium with the diadem of Cyprus and Jerusalem or the coronet of Monferrat, it is nevertheless true that the reigning families in both countries have more of an aristocratic than a regal character. The house of Savoy has risen chiefly by the usual policy of great feudal nobles, ever laying field to field, and pressing onward towards the rich plain of Lombardy. The royal family of Belgium has imitated, with curious exactness and success, those arts which built up, according to the old saying, the fortunes of 'happy Austria.' The Sardinian constitution is modelled on the French charter. The Belgian, which was itself the mould in which the short-lived Austrian constitution of 1848 was cast, is also copied from the French legislation of 1830; but much deeper traces have been left in the Belgian constitution by the ancient liberty of Flanders than have been given to the Sardinian by the forgotten privileges of the small Republics of Piedmont. The history which these two constitutions inaugurated has been very much the same. Belgium has feared the distractions, or the united energies of France. Sardinia has feared the Prætorian bands of Austria. In both, the most difficult Parliamentary questions have been those which trenched upon religion. In both, the Government has had to mediate between extreme parties. In both, economical reform is advancing with steady steps, and commerce may point with satisfaction to the present of Genoa, Liège, and Verviers, as well as to the future of Spezia.

The press of the two countries presents many features of resemblance. The war which is waged between the organs of the Liberal and Clerical party in Belgium finds a parallel in the livelong battle which is carried on between the *Opinione* and its allies on the one hand, and the *Armonia* on the other. In both countries the Clerical and Catholic journals lose no opportunity of embarrassing the Govern-

ment, forgetful that by doing so they are only, especially in Piedmont, playing into the hands of those dangerous adversaries, who are represented by the papers conducted in either State by a Republican and Socialist faction, which wishes to involve the present balanced Government and all ecclesiastical institutions in one common ruin.

Belgium and Sardinia are alike fortunate in the virtues, nay, even in the faults of their rulers. LEOPOLD I., closely connected with the English Royal family, was long the observer of our free institutions, and the friend of our leading public men, before a sudden turn of the political wheel brought within his grasp the dazzling bauble of Greece or the more solid prize of Belgium. A constitutional education, wise advice, and a certain want of interest in the exercise of power have combined with a love of pleasure and with feeble health, to make him averse to that mischievous meddling which, often arising from a morbid sense of duty, has not unfrequently been the bane of more energetic rulers. Something of the same kind may be said of VICTOR EMMANUEL. Known until the advance into Lombardy only as a good officer, a daring sportsman, and a prince of rather unpopular manners, he has displayed in the trying years which have followed, not indeed great administrative ability, nor extraordinary proficiency in diplomatic intrigue, nor yet a mind susceptible of the charms of literature, and full of zeal for the advancement of art. All these things have been common in Italy. But the rough sportsman has shown himself possessed of virtues rare in the annals of ESTE or MEDICI. He has proved himself a true-hearted and honest man; and he has done this amidst much discouragement from the unwise among his own subjects, in spite of the mingled frowns and cajoleries of his brother rulers, and under a combination of external misfortunes, which the priests, the teachers of his youth, as they would be the betrayers of his

riper years, have done their best to represent to him as the judgments of offended Heaven.

[*Continental Review*, 1858.]

ITALY IN 1860.

I think it was I who, by a happy accident, had the opportunity of being the first to express in the House of Commons those sentiments of good-will to Garibaldi and his enterprise which have since been so general. How strangely rapid has been the progress of events! It is little more than four months since I spoke, before the news of the landing at Marsala had come to this country. What I then ventured to hope for was a guerilla war carried on with success in the interior of Sicily, while the great towns remained in the hands of the Neapolitans. Now, however, we have the king of Naples cooped up in a corner of his continental dominions, a mere eyot amidst the flood of revolution. I wish one could feel secure in the permanence of Garibaldi's success; but we dare not forget that these men of Southern Italy are the sons and sons' sons of slaves; that they have never yet proved themselves able either to retain their freedom, or even to make a stand in the open field. If their sovereign is descended from the miscreant who called in the bayonets of the foreigner, they are the children of the imbeciles who gave up what might have easily been the Thermopylæ of Italy, the pass of Antrodoco. With regard to their fitness for self-government, there is a document to which I would refer you, I mean the speech of Lord Heytesbury in the House of Peers in 1849, in which he describes in much detail the disastrous confusion which led to the fall of the Sicilian constitution of 1812; but I confess I have in Cavour a confidence which I have not in Garibaldi. I do not believe him to be so single-minded a politician, but I fear it is but too true in such a

game as this Italian one, as in many others, that he who would be successful must suffer not only fools but rogues gladly.

[*At Elgin, October 1st, 1860.*]

TEMPORAL POWER OF THE POPE.

The events in Italy are rapidly bringing near that consummation so devoutly to be wished for,—the cessation of the temporal power of the Pope. It would be rash to predict that Pius the Ninth will be the last bishop of Rome, who will wield the sceptre, but so much at least is certain that a very influential section of the Sacred College would be quite willing that it should be so.

I do not know that such an event will be a gain to our mere professed controversialists.

Good and thoughtful men, however, both Protestants and Catholics, will heartily rejoice. For ages yet to come they will dispute. It is impossible, indeed, for us to look forward to a time when a certain order of minds will not embrace the teaching of the Roman church; but still we hope, in spite of orange ruffianism in Canada and green ruffianism in Ireland, that these quarrels will ultimately be transferred from the streets to the cloisters and the schools.

[*At Elgin, October 1st, 1860.*]

ITALY IN 1861.

I do not agree with Mr. Roebuck in wishing that Austria should keep Venetia, but I am free to admit that she has a great deal to say for herself. To many Austrian statesmen the Quadrilateral appears to be not only a means of influence in Italy, but an absolutely necessary defence of Germany. If we sell Venetia, they say, we must expend much more than we get for it in building new fortifications, and in

maintaining 150,000 additional troops. It is vain to talk to us of defending the Italian Alps; we know that they would be a poor barrier if we did not command the north-east corner of Italy. Vienna would not be safe in case of a war with France, as the campaign of 1797 very sufficiently proves. Again they say—If we lose Venice, how long shall we keep Trieste, or even Fiume? How long shall we keep the Dalmatian coast? How long shall we have any navy or mercantile marine at all? They would go on to urge much about its being the interest of all Europe that they should hold the Quadrilateral against France or against Italy, which they consider likely to be the vassal of France.

* * * * *

To all such arguments, however, there seems to me this answer—It is too late. Doubtless it will be inconvenient for Austria to lose Venetia, but by her own outrageous folly, she has rendered her permanent retention of it quite impossible. Thirty years ago Italian unity was the aspiration of a few exiles. The atrocious system which Austria established in her own Italian dominions, and the much more atrocious system which she fostered beyond their limits, have made it the faith of an entire people. Italy might have been great and happy, although divided into half-a-dozen States. Austrian Italy might have been happy, though the white uniform was to be seen in all her strong places; but her rulers deliberately chose that this should not be so, and consequently they may rest assured that no complaints of inconvenience, no suggestion of danger to English interests (dangers, which I may observe, seem to me very visionary), will prevent the English people fully sympathising with the Italians when it seems good to them once more to take the field.

[*At Elgin, September 18th, 1861.*]

THE STATE OF ITALY, 1862.

The Italians are generally accused of being hot-headed ; but I think that, in the matter of this debate, they have given us a lesson in moderation. When it was first understood at Turin that the honorable Baronet * intended to call the attention of this House to the internal affairs of the kingdom of Italy, some violent persons proposed that they, in their turn, should get up a discussion in the Italian Parliament about the internal affairs of Ireland. I am happy to say, however, that the good sense of the majority of the deputies, to whom this proposal was mentioned, induced them to scout it, and to leave Her Majesty's Government, with the assistance of Parliament,—a Parliament, be it observed, in no way more legally constituted than the Italian one,—to govern Ireland as it deems best. What possible right have we to interfere, under present circumstances, in the internal affairs of the kingdom of Italy ? When a Government becomes so hopelessly bad, that it can be called by a conservative statesman writing to a conservative and amidst the applause of the civilised world, “a negation of God,” it may be very right for us to interfere, to prevent horrors which are a disgrace to our common humanity ; but, even upon the showing of the honorable Baronet himself, there is at present nothing worse than a languid rebellion being slowly trampled out by the legitimate authority. The honorable Baronet may perhaps object to the phrase I have used,—“a negation of God,”—but the language of the most eloquent defender of the Papal power is quite as strong. “Look,” says Count de Montalembert, “at those wretched sovereigns of Italy, men of politics so profound, of imaginations so marvellously fertile for the destruction of the admirable race which they misgovern, that they have made their country a moral and intellectual hell, and have compelled all the best spirits to curse that land, the fairest under heaven,

* Sir George Bowyer.

because, as they justly say, a tomb is never a country." But even granting that the honorable Baronet has a right to ask us to discuss the internal affairs of Italy, what case has he made out for his friends? He has told us of atrocities committed by the troops of the king, but what is his authority for those atrocities? Are they the reactionary newspapers of Italy? Is it not perfectly notorious that these are in the hands of persons so unscrupulous that the fact of any piece of intelligence appearing in them is almost a presumption that that piece of intelligence is false? Or does the honorable Baronet derive his information from private letters? If he does, he will find it difficult to prove that those letters are not written by persons who are the accomplices,—the meaner accomplices,—of those very brigands whom they put forward to do their work. Nothing would be easier than to get up a list of atrocities longer than that of the honorable Baronet. But although the medieval imagination of himself and those who sit near him may luxuriate in such things, they are too horrible for the House of Commons. With regard to this whole subject of brigandage, surely we can have nothing more decisive than the dying declaration of the least disreputable of those brigands, who met his fate last December. It may be in the recollection of the House that a Spaniard named Borges, who appears to have been a man of honor, was deceived by the persons who surround the ex-king of Naples into the belief that there was a real insurrection going on in his favor in the Neapolitan provinces,—the kind of insurrection in which an honorable fanatic might take part without disgracing his name or the reputation of a soldier. He landed in the Neapolitan provinces with a commission constituting him Generalissimo; he soon found, however, that the regiments of which he had been told were purely imaginary, that the troops which he had expected to command consisted of the mere sweeping of the galleys, commanded, amongst other ruffians, by one Crocco,

whom he describes as a monster in human shape. So much with regard to the facts of the honorable Baronet. But if we have not a right to discuss the internal affairs of Italy, we have every right to discuss its external affairs, and for this plain reason, that our own foreign relations are closely bound up with its foreign relations. As long as the present abnormal state of things continues in Italy, a general war may break out at any moment; we shall always be uneasy about our estimates, and kept in that painful state of preparation for war, which is only a less evil than war itself. Now, what are the two causes of this exceptional state of things in Italy? They are Venice and Rome. With regard to the first of these, I am free to admit that the Italian nationality cry can no more be defended before the tribunal of pure reason than any other nationality cry. It might be much better if nations could be made to understand that good government is the first thing, and that the question between foreign and domestic government, where the subject population is small, is really a matter of secondary importance. Unfortunately, however, it wants very little insight to see that nations are not governed by pure reason; that this nationality cry is the cry of the time, and that, wherever it is sufficiently strong, it must in the end be yielded to. Of course, there is no doubt that plausible reasons have been put forward to show that the loss of Venetia would be extremely inconvenient to Austria; but the question is not about convenience or inconvenience; it is about national existence or national ruin. It is impossible that Austria can right itself without making political concessions to Hungary, and without getting rid of Venetia in return either for a large sum of money or for territorial compensation elsewhere. I am happy to think that there is a large party in Austria, including some persons who stand very near the throne, which would most willingly throw overboard Venetia if they could venture to propose such a measure without irritating the susceptibilities

of the Emperor, and throwing more power into the hands of the absolutist clique, which still flits about the palace in Vienna. I am sure that our Government will act in accordance with the wishes alike of the House of Commons and of the British nation, if, while taking care not to wound the pride of a high-spirited and patriotic people, they lose no opportunity of impressing upon the Austrian Cabinet the expediency of yielding to circumstances, and abridging the state of things which is dangerous to Europe, and must, if continued, prove absolutely fatal to Austria. With regard to the question of Rome, there is one point on which the Italians have, as it seems to me, a right to express their opinion very strongly. It is quite intolerable that the ex-king of Naples should be permitted to use that wealth, which he has carried away with him, to excite confusion within the territories which he was unable to govern. It may be said that the Emperor of the French only permits it in order to show that Italy can really triumph even over such a terrible disadvantage as this ; but I rather fear that he only permits it to continue for want of courage to take a decisive step ; and although, as I shall presently point out, the Italians ought not to be too impatient to insist on the withdrawal of the French from Rome, they, and we, and all civilised mankind have an interest in protesting against the brigandage and filibustering of Francis II. and Monsignor de Mérode. With regard to the occupation of Rome by the French, I am not one of those who believe, after making deductions of all mixed motives, that the intentions of the Emperor with regard to Italy are otherwise than very fair and honorable. But his favorite motto is ' *ne rien brusquer.*' As far back as the year 1849, when the news of the battle of Novara came to Paris, he was on the point of declaring war against Austria. He was prevented doing so by the entreaties of his Ministers, and for ten years he bided his time. I cannot

help seeing that he has to contend with great difficulties. Of these I will mention only two. Up to the time when he returned from his long exile, he never believed that religion was a political power in France at all. He was undeceived by the remarkable energy displayed by the clergy at the time of his election to the Presidency, and from that time he has obviously never been able to make up his mind what the real strength of the Ultramontane party in France may be. And no wonder; it is one of the most difficult questions which can be put to any one. Let any gentleman ask the opinion on it of the six best informed Frenchmen with whom he is acquainted, and he will be perfectly astonished by the diversity of the replies which he will receive. His second great difficulty is to be found in the fact that it has been the traditional policy of French statesmen to keep Italy weak, to prevent the formation of a great power upon the southern frontier of France. All the heads of the 'old parties' continually and pertinaciously repeat that Louis Napoleon, by giving in to the scheme of a united Italy, is sacrificing to his own crotchets the permanent interests of his empire. For these, and other reasons, he must be extremely circumspect; but I believe, nevertheless, that, in that dreamy and inconstant mind, where so many things are in a state of flux and reflux! there is one point fixed, and that is a determination to befriend Italy if he can do so without injuring what he loves a great deal better than Italy,—the prospects of his dynasty. On the whole, Sir, I do not take a very unfavorable view of the present condition of Victor Emmanuel's kingdom. I think that the members of the present as of the former Parliament in Turin have shown great good sense in affecting rather the fame of being good men of business than of being great debaters. I think that the whole conduct of Victor Emmanuel shows that those who recently accused him of being in ill-humour with the working of constitutional

monarchy, judged him harshly and unfairly. And, finally, I think that English Liberals, if they have anything to say to Italy, except to apologise for meddling in her affairs at all, should quote to her the maxim which I have already mentioned, 'Ne rien brusquer.'

[*House of Commons, April 11th, 1862.*]

ITALY IN 1863.

That the affairs of Italy will once again, and that ere very long, become of European interest is hardly doubtful. I am not alluding to the Roman question. I am alluding to the question of Venetia, or, more properly speaking, the question of the Quadrilateral. Yes, it is but too true the Quadrilateral is, as has been well remarked, the secret of Italy. As long as Austria retains that strategic position, equally powerful for attack and defence, so long will Italy be obliged to keep up an enormous army, and to incur expenses which must continually increase the disorder of the finances. Ere long Victor Emmanuel will be forced to go to war whether he likes it or not.

[*At Elgin, Sept. 9th, 1863.*]

ITALY IN 1866.

Still no matter who did it ; a great work is done. Austria is out of Italy and out of the Germanic Confederation, and with a smaller amount of human suffering than I for one in my wildest dreams ever hoped.

* * * *

Indeed, the marvellous good luck of Italy in getting Prussia to do her work is as remarkable as her previous misfortunes. Ever since 1859 she has been the spoilt child of fortune, and at last, as some one very truly said, has gained Venetia simply by crying for it. Let us hope that freedom from the yoke of the stranger will bring a speedy settlement

of all her internal difficulties, together with commerce and wealth. Genius is probably not commoner in Italy than elsewhere, but assuredly there is no European country where talent and capacity are so widely distributed.

[*At Elgin, Oct. 9th, 1866.*]

ITALY IN 1867.

Let us now sum up the results of our survey. Italy has a large and increasing population, a great extent of fertile land still lying waste, over which that population may extend, together with an infinite variety of climates and descriptions of country, highly favorable to a many-sided national life. In agriculture much has been done, but much remains to do, and agriculture must ever remain the main element of her prosperity. Her mineral resources, though not very great, may be much developed. Her fine winter climate, her works of art, her historical recollections, and the charms of her scenery, are so many veins of wealth as yet very imperfectly worked. As a manufacturing country, she has no great future in the production of the commoner articles consumed by civilised man, at least for the purpose of export; but for producing works of art of every order below the highest, and, above all, for art manufactures, she has extraordinary facilities. Her position for commerce is admirable, and the return of prosperity to her Mediterranean neighbours will give indirectly a vast impulse to herself. Her people have great natural abilities, but they are very ignorant, and are in some districts mere barbarians with a miserable superstition, which usurps the place of what in more fortunate countries is called religion or morality. Even the civilised classes have broken with the middle age and its ideas, without getting anything very much better to put in their place. A religious revolution or reformation, going very deep and very wide, is the

necessary complement of recent political changes ; but there is not yet sufficient *initiative* in the long-demoralised nation to bring this about. It must come from abroad, and Italy can do little but make the path straight for it, by improving her education. In literature, in learning, in science, there is much aptitude, but little contemporary performance. The periodical press is very poor. For a free political life, Italy has shown excellent dispositions, and has hitherto kept itself pretty free from those evils which her detractors prophesied would disgrace her Parliament. She has many respectable politicians, but has produced as yet only one great statesman. Cavour has had no successor. Lastly, looking at the rising generation, we do not see any evidence that they are likely to be better than their fathers. Such evidence as there is seems to point the other way.

Italy, if she has many advantages, has also, it must be remembered, some peculiar disadvantages to contend with. Nowhere is the Church question so large or so difficult. The finances are in a condition which alarmists might call desperate. Brigandage is an evil which draws in its train innumerable other evils. The violent political changes of the last few years, and the unscrupulous proceedings at which successive Governments have had to wink, have disorganised society and thrown far too great power into the hands of that vast, idle, and semi-warlike class, out of which the volunteers of Garibaldi are recruited. Another very serious mischief is the intolerable number of *employés*, swarms of whom are wholly useless, but whose connections can bring pressure to bear upon the Chamber. These, taken in connection with other difficulties to which we have alluded, and above all with the miserable state of education, are things well calculated to make the most sanguine well-wisher of Italy hesitate to prophesy for her a very brilliant future, during the next fifty years.

The best friends of Italy would, we think, address her somewhat as follows :—Keep your dynasty, in spite of any dissatisfaction that may be inspired by the king, or any want of confidence in his successor, but gradually diminish its power, thus obtaining the advantages of a republic, without its agitations. Turn a deaf ear to the cries of ‘the heroic Trentino,’ till it suits Austria to part with it, and try to forget that Istria exists. Avoid, as far as possible, all foreign complications, and above all beware of interfering with the Eastern question, except for the purpose of preventing Constantinople falling to Russia, while that empire has still the aggressive instincts of a semi-barbarous power. ‘Seek peace and ensue it’ with all the world, and more especially with Germany, from which country you may obtain what you most need, learned men trained to interpret your own past to yourselves ; trained to re-invigorate your education, and thereby indefinitely to extend your power. Restrict the temporal power of the Pope, as soon as you are able, to the limits of the Leonine City. Never be satisfied until the Church is supported exclusively by voluntary contributions. Diminish your army and navy to the utmost, but take pride in having both services as perfect as possible. Spare no expense in keeping up with the latest improvements in weapons. Abolish all unnecessary drill, and recruit your officers, as is already done in Holland, by competitive examination. As long as the *res dura* and the *regni novitas* oblige you to keep up your armaments even at their present diminished size, comfort yourself by regarding them as a school, through which your half-civilised population is passed, and make your period of service as short as possible. Advance elementary education. Concentrate your Universities, and train your professors north of the Alps. Have a few first-rate gymnasia, but above all direct attention to the class of schools which are known in Germany as *Real-schulen*. Push on

roads and railways. Encourage planting on a scientific method, as well as irrigation. Protect your works of art and your libraries, the last of which have been of late years not a little damaged. Give every possible facility to foreigners. Lay yourself out for a great transit trade, for being the emporium of the Mediterranean and the pleasure place of Europe. Continually reduce your customs duties, with a view of abolishing them altogether.

[*North British Review*, 1867.]

ITALY IN 1867.

Italy has been, of late, so interesting to us all, that I should think it necessary to dwell at some length on its position and prospects, if I had not had an opportunity of saying what I had got to say on these subjects in the recently published number of the *North British Review*, and if my opinions, as there stated, had not been pretty generally circulated amongst you through the local press. I may add, however, that it appeared to me, when I was in London a fortnight ago, that those persons of my acquaintance who are in the closest relations with Italy were by no means sanguine. The difficulties of the Government of Florence have been terribly increased by the high-handed policy of France. In all quarters of the country, disturbers of the peace, Bourbonist, Muratist, Anarchist, begin to raise their heads. "If," said to me lately an Italian, whom I seldom find wrong, "Rome is much longer withheld, I foresee that all the devils will be unchained in Italy."

[*At Peterhead*, December 19th, 1867.]

ITALY IN 1868.

Italy, since the end of the Mentana excitement, has been passing a quiet and laborious period. The Parliament of Florence has been engaged, for the most part, in work as dry

and unexciting, at least to the foreign reader, as the reports in the morning papers of the proceedings in Committee of Supply. This is as it should be. The romantic age of Italian politics has lasted long enough, and those who wish well to a country which has been for so many generations interesting and unhappy, should pray that her annals may be dull for many a year to come. Europe has been wonderfully indulgent to her somewhat summary method of relieving herself of a part of her pecuniary burdens ; and it is to be sincerely hoped that the toleration shown to her and to Austria may not embolden them and others to go further and do worse.

Were but the Roman difficulty settled, the question which every lover of Italy would ask at the end of each *lustrum* is, not what exciting events have happened there, but what progress is being made in the arts of peace, and in all that enriches and embellishes the life of a nation. What proof is she giving that the blood shed in her many revolutions was not shed in vain ? That question will, I dare say, be oftener asked than answered, for want of some one to devote the vast amount of time and trouble that is necessary, first to collect on the spot masses of statistics, and then to spend weeks in marshalling those statistics and putting them in a readable form. This year, however, it is not difficult to answer. It pleased M. Marc Monnier, the author of *L'Italie est-elle la Terre des Morts ?* and of many other valuable writings on the Peninsula, to return a few months ago to the land for which he had already done so much, and to hive up an enormous mass of information illustrative of the progress it has been making since 1860. When I had the pleasure of visiting him, in the month of April, at Geneva, I found him surrounded by the literary spoils which he had brought across the Alps, and the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of the 15th August contains, in an admirable article on "Italy at work from

1860 to 1868," which is to other articles what attar of roses is to rose-water, the expressed essence of what he has to tell us. [A Political Survey.]

ITALY IN 1870.

The same tide of good fortune, which has of late years carried Italy to so many triumphs, has attended her during this eventful year; and at length for the first time, since, at the close of the Middle Ages, 'the lances of France gleamed through the defiles of the Alps,' she may be said to have her destiny in her own keeping. I was in Venice when the news of the fall of Rome came thither, and it was a strange sight to see it spreading gradually over the whole of that beautiful city. First came rumours on the Piazza, each man telling his neighbour the message that the telegraph had brought. Then the newspapers sent out, in hot haste, printed slips headed *Roma e nostra*—'Rome is ours.' Then flags began to be put out, first of a few windows, then of many, till at length the great bell of the Campanile rang out over the lagune, and was answered by similar peals from all the islands round. I do not quite agree with a friend who was with me at the moment, and who, under the well-known signature of 'W. R. G.,' has told us that there was very little enthusiasm. I thought that there was a good deal; but I will not deny that my own feelings of exhilaration received a check when, amidst all the holiday glitter, I raised my eyes and saw the four bronze horses in front of St. Mark's looking down upon the scene. In Alexandria and in Rome, in Constantinople and in Paris, as well as in Venice itself, how many similar scenes had they witnessed, of how many illusions had they outlived the end! It is at such moments that the thought will arise unbidden—

"And what is life?—A little strife, where victories are vain,
Where those who conquer do not win, nor those receive who gain."

[At Elgin, November 15th, 1870.]

ITALY, 1876.

There is no State in Europe to which circumstances more distinctly prescribe a close friendship with this country. "I was thinking," said an Italian Statesman to me a few months ago, "a long way back in history, and I could not remember one single instance in which the interests of England and Italy were at variance." "It is curious you should say that to-night," I replied, "for only this morning I came across a saying in Giusti's collection of proverbs which struck me much, and the date of which I would greatly like to know—

'Con tutto il mondo la guerra,
E pace con Inghilterra.' "

[*Contemporary Review*, July 1876.]

ITALY.

Mr. Cowen concludes as follows:—"I am weak enough to own that I believe in that now derided obligation of patriotism; the duty of the individual to the State is one of the first principles planted in the human breast. I know my country's defects, but I cannot join with those who exaggerate and parade them. The land of Michael Angelo and of Dante was not destitute of energy, but when she, persistently proclaimed herself to be miserable and infamous through the mouth of Machiavelli, the world took her at her word and trod upon her. Englishmen disposed to decry their native land may remember with advantage the experience of Italy. It is ours to hand down to posterity undimmed and undiminished the priceless heritage of a free State, the imperceptible aggregation of centuries won by the struggles of a heroic national life. It was planted, has been reared and has been watered by the sweat, the tears, the blood, of some of the noblest of men." Now, with regard to these

statements, I want to ask who it is that derides the obligation of patriotism or the duty of the individual to the State? Does Mr. Cowen mean to say that the great body of the Liberals, with whom he happens at this moment to disagree, deride "the obligations of patriotism" or "the duty of the individual to the State"? If he does, he should be ashamed of himself, for the statement is simply monstrous. Then as to the "land of Michael Angelo and of Dante having been trodden upon because she proclaimed herself miserable and infamous by the mouth of Machiavelli." What is one to make of the politics of a man who reads history in such a strange topsy-turvy way? Why I thought that every one who had given any attention to history knew that the servitude of Italy to the foreigner depended upon causes long anterior to Machiavelli. Such phrases belong to rhetorical exercises, not to the speech of serious men. It is strange, by-the-bye, that Mr. Cowen, when he talked of the fall of Italy, did not remember that if his new friends had had their way, Italy would be fallen still.

[*Speech at Northallerton, February 1880.*]

ITALY IN 1881.

Italy has, by the French intervention in Tunis, been saved, perhaps, from the ruinous imprudence of one day intervening there herself. I trust that she may steadily turn away from the teaching of those who bid her aspire to be a great naval and military State. The recent improvement in her finances must be an occasion of rejoicing to all her friends; and I note another most gratifying sign, that, although she is doing but little in the higher departments of literature, she is yet sending forth a great number of books of the second order, through which the best knowledge and science of the time tend more and more to get down into general circulation. I have met with no better book, for example, on the relations

of the Church and the State,—a question of supreme importance in all modern societies,—than that which was published a year or two ago by my friend M. Minghetti, which has lately been translated into German, and should be translated into English.

[*Speech at Banff, September 1881.*]

GERMANY.

GERMANY IN 1862.

The whole state of Europe, while it is not such as to inspire any immediate alarm, is troubled and dangerous. Germany, said Mr. Disraeli in the beginning of summer, was never more tranquil. Mr. Disraeli, I venture to say, has not often been more mistaken. Germany is divided by the same passions which as nearly as possible brought about a collision between Austria and Prussia in 1850. I have much hope of a peaceful solution of the differences in that country; but those who know the intense bitterness with which some of the Governments, as, for instance, that of Hanover, are regarded by their subjects,—those who know how fiercely Bavaria and several other States would oppose the realisation of the projects of German unity which are popular in the North,—those who know the importance which Austria attaches to her traditional supremacy, will hardly indulge in too confident expectations.

[*At Elgin, September 23rd, 1862.*]

THE SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN QUESTION, 1864.

I happened to be in Paris in the first days in February, and came over in the full belief that some important decision would be come to; or at least that a distinct declaration of policy would be made at the very commencement of our

labors. The question which seemed to have brought us to the verge of hostilities,—for the papers, as you will recollect, were at the time full of the most sinister rumours,—was one in which I, thanks to an accident, had for many years had an interest, and on which I had formed a very decided opinion. I was accordingly very much pleased when the fortunate chance of catching the Speaker's eye, very early on the evening of our day of meeting, enabled me to state the reasons which had led me to feel, not with Denmark, nor with Austria, nor with the Prussian Government, but with the great German liberal party, with whose political aspirations I have the strongest possible sympathy, and in whose ultimate triumph, involving, as it will, the establishment of a free, powerful, and peaceful State in the centre of Europe, I have so much confidence that I can afford to look with considerable equanimity on its repeated partial failures and defeats.

[*At Elgin, October 27th, 1864.*]

THE SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN QUESTION IN ITS INTERNATIONAL ASPECT.

So much for the Schleswig-Holstein question, looked at as one of popular rights. Now look at it as one of public policy. What interest had England, what interest had any State in Europe, except perhaps Russia, in preventing the changes which have this year taken place in the respective boundaries of Germany and Denmark? How was it in the Napoleonic wars? Was it a fortunate thing for England or for the cause of humanity that, thanks to the assistance of Denmark, the great conqueror was able to turn the flank of Germany? I sympathise only imperfectly with those politicians who are always pointing to France and crying "wolf, wolf!" but it would be blind, indeed, not to see that, while Germany never can be dangerous to this country, France may at any moment become a most formidable enemy. Can

I therefore regret that a great fortress like Rendsburg should be taken out of the keeping of a weak military power, and put into the keeping of a power which must, in the nature of things, be our ally in any struggle into which this country is likely to be brought, if ever again the demon of conquest, which now slumbers with one eye open, awakes in the heart of the French people?

[*At Elgin, October 27th, 1864.*]

THE PARTING OF THE WAYS.

The year 1864 was probably the most critical through which England has passed for a very long time. The exact history of the negotiations with France, and the discussions in the Cabinet that took place between the death of Frederick VII of Denmark and the beginning of the next session, are unknown to me, and will not be generally known till their interest has passed away; but certain it is that this country stood then at the "parting of the ways." If the influence of certain persons had prevailed, we should have become involved in a struggle which sooner or later could have had but one end. We should no doubt, with excellent intentions, and with many excuses to give for what we did, have put ourselves into opposition to the inevitable, and have suffered the penalty which all suffer who cannot read the riddle which is ever and anon propounded to all States, and to read which aright is the highest triumph of political sagacity.

[*At Elgin, 1872.*]

THE PRUSSIANS IN AUSTRIA, 1866.

Another great occasion for rejoicing is the behaviour of the Prussian Army in the enemy's country. Of course, some excesses have been committed, but surely fewer than ever were committed in any war that has been waged since the world

began. Take it for all in all, the fact that such enormous hosts were hurled against a hostile empire for a political purpose, which they fully accomplished with so little "misery in waste," as Bentham would have said, is about the most creditable thing in the annals of the human race, and an encouragement to all those who believe that our remote descendants will be far better than ourselves.

[*At Elgin, October 9th, 1866.*]

GERMANY IN 1866.

To any one who knows Germany, the fact that this great thing which is being done under our eyes should have been done by the present king—that he of all men should have been the person who, in the words of a German political poem, was to "claim the debt, or send the debtor to Gehenna," that his foot, of all the feet in the world, was the foot that was to "tread on Carlsbad and Vienna," is, indeed, one of the strangest illustrations of the irony of destiny. This is strange, and it is stranger still to stop and reflect. What is fame, and what is political success? The name of this prince and of his minister will be remembered long after the names of the many good and great and noble men who prepared all that has been done, who would have done all that is being done much better, if only they could have wielded the power of Prussia, have been long, long forgotten.

[*At Elgin, October 9th, 1866.*]

THE CROWN PRINCE OF PRUSSIA, 1867.

The chief interest of German politics during the last few months has consisted in watching the varying strength of the attraction exercised over Bavaria and the other still independent States by the United States of the North.

After various vicissitudes, the negotiations of the summer and autumn have ended in the conclusion of ties, as well military as commercial, so close, that for many purposes, and above all for defence against the stranger, we may henceforth think of North and South Germany as one country.

Some persons shake their heads and say, "Well! what has the world gained after all? There is just one more great military despotism." That is not so. North Germany, although politically less free than we could wish to see her, is far on the road to a completely constitutional state of things. The liberal influences which pervade society there have become far too strong to be much longer held in check. Even Bismarck has found this out at last, and has only managed to keep up repression in one direction by opening the safety-valve in another. *Through Freedom to Unity* was the cry of all the best minds in Germany; and the way by which they wished to walk was the nobler one. Destiny, however, seems, so far as we can judge at present, to be playing into the hands of those who cried *Through Unity to Freedom*. The difference is a vital one for our generation, but it cannot be called a vital one for the generation that will succeed it. Amongst many wider and deeper influences which are working out the future liberty and greatness of Germany, it would be absurd to omit the happy accident, which seems to promise, ere long, to the Prussian people a monarch well worthy of their highest esteem. I have observed, in my intercourse with Germans during the last few years, that the reputation of the Crown Prince has been growing steadily. A good many years have passed since, in one of the darkest moments of the recent history of Prussia, a very dear and valued friend of mine, now no more, thought it his duty to write to the present King, who was then only heir-presumptive, a very strong letter upon the state of affairs. The present Crown Prince, then a very young man, so far from being

offended by the old soldier's plain speaking, took an early opportunity of saying to him, "Not only my father, but all our family, are much beholden to you for what you have done." Similar stories reach one from all sides: nor will those who know how malign an effect more than one royal lady has exerted, during the last fifty years, in Germany, consider it an immaterial circumstance, that the Crown Princess has succeeded in obtaining for herself a quite extraordinary and exceptional popularity in the land of her adoption, and that not among the mob of courtiers who worship Aurelius to-day and Commodus to-morrow, but amongst those who look upon kings and princes simply as institutions to be judged of by their effects; cherished when they are useful and beneficent, treated like the rulers of Hanover and Hesse when they are useless or evil. There are probably no two lives in Europe on which so much, at this moment, depends. It is only to be feared that people will expect impossibilities, and be annoyed when they see that the accession to the throne of a wise king and queen does not produce a golden age. Nothing of the kind is to be looked for. Their accession will be one good influence more amongst, as I have said, other wider and deeper influences.

[*At Peterhead, December 19th, 1867.*]

THE KING OF PRUSSIA IN 1868.

Through all this trying year his government has shown the most laudable desire for peace; but do not for a moment imagine that everything is not ready for war. The chief military Councillor of the Prussian Crown believes, or at least a few weeks ago did believe, in war, and all the necessary orders, which a state of war requires in a country where the citizen is a soldier, were ready, and only required to be posted. If Prussia has to go to war, you may rest assured

that all the necessary measures are taken to bring her whole power to bear with extraordinary rapidity, not only against open enemies, but against doubtful friends, and she will enter on the war in that frame of mind which I have heard old soldiers declare to be far the most dangerous for an adversary,—a state not of high spirits, but of calm and quiet determination.

[*A Political Survey, December 1868.*]

GERMANY AND FRANCE IN 1870.

A large number of French politicians, even as late as the winter of 1859-60, believed that a war with England would be popular with the majority of their countrymen,—thanks, chiefly, to the way in which all the worst traditions of the Napoleonic wars had been kept alive in the minds of the masses by Thiers and other Chauvin writers. I remember even so good a friend of this country as the late Count Montalembert saying to me, at the date I have mentioned, “It would be a great risk, but if I were in the Emperor’s place, I would make the attempt.”

Some of you may recollect that in my address to you last year I made use of the following words:—“No sooner had the Prussian troops marched back into garrison from the crowning mercy of Königgrätz than they began to work harder than ever to repair all the shortcomings that had been observed in the campaign, and the Prussian army is certainly now beyond all comparison better prepared for war than it was when it poured, three years ago, though the Bohemian passes.”

Well, in spite of this assiduous preparation and the extraordinary vigilance of the Prussians, in spite of their determination, which I also mentioned to you last year, not only “to win, but to win the first battle,” they were, after all, taken by surprise. If France had been as really prepared as

she fancied herself, the history of the first few weeks of the present struggle would have been very different. Now a tempest so sudden as this could not by possibility have gathered in a country controlled by an effective system of Parliamentary Government. For, without for a moment attempting to deny that the desire for war on the part of a large portion of the French people, of all ranks and of all orders of intelligence, was very great, there surely never was a declaration of war that was more entirely the work of one man. Till I see a very good cause to adopt a contrary opinion, I shall believe that when the Hohenzollern withdrawal took place, the Emperor was himself perfectly satisfied, and that it was only when the Military clique had succeeded in making him believe that if he rested satisfied with that compensation to the honor of France, it would not answer for the army, he suddenly changed his purpose and spoke the fatal word. What has happened to Prussia might at any time, from 1851 to 1860, have happened to us.

[*At Elgin, November 15th, 1870.*]

GERMAN UNITY, 1870.

Ever since dispassionate observers became aware that the politically active portion of the French people was determined that German unity should not be established without a struggle, they saw that a collision, in which Germany should be victorious, was all but inevitable. Statesmen were right to do their very utmost to postpone that collision, in the hope that some fortunate chance might make wiser counsels prevail on the left bank of the Rhine ; but he is not worthy the name of a statesman who has not long seen that for France to impede German unity was to try to disturb a chemical process by mechanical means,—not, under most conditions, a very profitable undertaking. They have, indeed, been shortsighted, who have not for a long time echoed the words with

which, in a dark hour of Prussia's history, General Radowitz immediately after Olmütz, closed the second series of his *Conversations on the Subjects of the Day*. "To say that the German nation is yearning to rise out of its torn and sunken condition into a true unity; that first through this, and only through this, the revolution can be ended, seems to some foolishness, and to some a stumbling-block; but the Fates will find their way! Farewell! 'The rest is silence.'"

[*At Elgin, November 15th, 1870.*]

GERMAN UNITY, 1870.

Sufficient, however, unto the day is the evil thereof, and the next thing we have to look for is the welding into one Federative State, as strong for peaceful advancement as it has shown itself for war, of Germany, North and South of the line of the Maine. I used to hope and believe that German unity, that greatest political need of Europe, would come about by the gradual grouping of the rest of Germany round a free and progressive Prussia. I held with those who said, "Through Freedom to Unity," as against those who said, "Through Unity to Freedom." The best Germans were with us, but the Hours and the Destinies were with our opponents. Is it not a wonderful thing,—but it is as true as it is wonderful,—that the 'misty philosopher' whom I have already named, was right, and right long ago, when so many politicians and men of the world were wrong? As far back as 1801, Hegel wrote that "such an event as the welding of Germany into one State, however desirable, and however generally desired, could never come about as the result of reflection, but of force;" and then he goes on to point out how the conqueror,—the Theseus who performs this work,—must be able to stand up against such hatred as was brought upon themselves by "Richelieu and other great men, who smashed to pieces the differences and idiosyncracies of their

contemporaries." It is only right and fair to say this ; but then it is equally right and fair to remember that, if blood and iron, Count Bismarck's translation, two generations afterwards, of Hegel's word *Gewalt*, or force, had not been the method used, Germany might well have reached her Unity nearly as soon, and without paying so fearful a price. I said, a moment ago, that the Hours and Destinies were against us. Perhaps that was too absolute an admission. The play is not yet played out.

Many people believe that, although the French declaration of war effectually solved, for the time, the problem of German unity, the disintegrating forces will resume their sway when peace returns once more. Many well-wishers to Germany shrink from the idea that Suabia and Baden and Bavaria will exchange their more genial temperament for the Prussian rigidity and hardness. They wish Prussia to disappear in Germany, not Germany to disappear in Prussia. I wish so too, as earnestly as they can, and it will be so. Prussia will disappear in Germany ; but not to-day nor to-morrow,—not till she has done her work. And well has the most famous* living Suabian shown his countrymen, within the last few weeks, how necessary it is that they and the other Germans, on the wrong side of the Maine, should be leavened with the Prussian spirit before Germany absorbs Prussia. The passage is so remarkable, and has attracted so little notice in Great Britain, that I must read it to you :—

"The war of 1866 and its consequences gave our South Germans much to think of. The present war, there is every reason to hope, will complete the setting right of their ideas. They must see clearly enough, that although they helped with their arms in this contest, it was Prussia that helped with her brains. Without the Prussian plan of the campaign, without the Prussian army organisation, they would, with

* Strauss.

the best will in the world, in spite of all their strength and all their steadfast manliness, have effected nothing against the French. And it cannot have escaped them that they are still far behind the Prussians, I do not say in courage and valour, but certainly in discipline and exactitude."

[*At Elgin, November 1870.*]

GERMANY IN 1875.

Yet don't let us forget that Germany has more cause for uneasiness than at first sight appears. Austria without Venetia is far stronger than Austria with Venetia. The Court of Berlin has earned the bitter hatred of the most ubiquitous of European powers which has not forgotten the saying of a Cardinal, that the battle with the modern spirit must be fought out on the sands of the Mark of Brandenburg. In France it is not, alas! the Montalembert form of Catholicism, which is in the ascendant. It is the form of it which stands armed among the Biscayan hills. The princes and princelets have not forgotten their hopes, and half across Europe from Madrid to Warsaw, dreams are being dreamt of subtle manœuvres by which the shadow is to be made to go back upon the dial.

[*At Elgin, May 1875.*]

GERMANY IN 1881.

If we cross the Rhine, we shall find little in Germany to make those who, like myself, have always been attached to that country, very happy. The fatal error of making the empire quickly by 'blood and iron', rather than by slower but surer methods, is leading to the result which we all along feared. Militarism is now more and more deflecting the energies of the country. The Fatherland is getting a less and less agreeable place to live in. Hence the tremendous emigration, 'not blood-letting but hæmorrhage' to use a phrase

of Lord Beaconsfield's, which we are witnessing ; hence the constant growth of socialism, which will be increased, not diminished, by the efforts founded upon obsolete political and economical ideas that are made to meet it.

[*At Banff, September 1881.*]

AUSTRIA.

AUSTRIA IN THE SPRING OF 1866.

When we remember how bitterly hated the Austrian Government was in this country only a few years ago, it is satisfactory to see with how much good feeling our press has recognised the efforts which it has recently made to improve the institutions of the empire. There are, however, still persons among us who can only look at Austria through Italian spectacles, and who believe that out of her no good thing can come. We are, we need hardly say, of a very different opinion. There is no country of the continent for whose prosperity we feel more anxious. This Europe in miniature,—comprising in itself more contrasts of climate, of scenery, of race, of language, of religion, of civilisation, than any other region of equal extent in this quarter of the globe,—can hardly fail to excite the interest and conciliate the good will of every one who makes a study of her affairs. We cannot name any country which affords so many facilities for experiments of living, under unfamiliar but not unfavorable conditions. That out of her disorder may come a many-sided order, that out of her discouragement may come cheerfulness, and out of her errors wisdom, is our fervent hope ; but as we close the review of her recent history,—by no means the darkest portion of her annals,—we cannot help counting up the sins of her rulers, and asking ourselves whether it is not but too possible that for those sins there may

yet come a day of reckoning, even worse than that of 1848. How often, during the period through which we have been conducting our readers, must not the wisest observers of what was passing at Vienna have been tempted to exclaim with the poet—

“Aber sie treiben's toll;
Ich fürcht' es breche?
Nicht jeden Wochen Schluss
Macht Gott die Zeche.”

[*Article in the North British Review, reprinted in Studies in European Politics, 1866.*]

AUSTRIA IN THE SPRING OF 1866.

When we balance these considerations, we may well doubt whether Austria is at all likely to sell Venetia, but hold it to be more than probable that, if she does not do so, she will ere long lose it by war. Much depends on the course that things take in Italy. If the new kingdom becomes gradually consolidated, if its miserable finances are put in order, if the brigandage which makes people almost long for the rule of the Dukes and the Bourbons is effectually put down, if the Roman question is solved, and the country begins to be respected rather than patronised, public opinion in Europe, and common sense at home, may possibly become too strong even for the pride of the House of Hapsburg-Lorraine, and the susceptibilities of that devoted army to which it owes so much. In one way or another, however, we cannot doubt that Italy must eventually possess Venetia, and that Austria must make up her mind to the loss, if loss indeed it be.

The future position of Austria with regard to Northern and Central Germany is another question of even greater difficulty. The relations of Austria to Germany have been treated at great length in a very interesting work by Baron Eötvös. His thesis is that the unity of Germany is neces-

sary to the peace of Europe, and that the legislative separation of Hungary, and her connection with the rest of the empire, by a merely personal union, is a necessary condition of German unity. Unlike Baron Eötvös, we should prefer to see Austria altogether divorced from her connection with the Bund, although we are, of course, not insensible to the grand features of the so-called Gross Deutsch idea, and to the maimed and truncated appearance which Germany would present, if she lost all the fair and historic German-speaking lands which are politically connected with Austria. Looking, however, not to what is abstractedly desirable, but to what is not wholly impossible, we pronounce for the view which finds favor in Prussia.

[*As above*, 1866.]

AUSTRIA IN THE EARLY SUMMER OF 1866.

Austria continues her slow progress down the easy slope of Avernus. The war into which she seems as anxious as either of her adversaries to plunge, can bring to her at least the satisfactory solution of no one of the questions which have so long tormented her. She may well drive back Victor Emmanuel from the Quadrilateral, she may well overbalance by sheer force of numbers the advantage derived by her German foe from that formidable needle-gun, which we are told makes one soldier do the work of three; but who, that knows the forces now at work in Europe, can doubt that Italy and Prussia must conquer in the end?

[*Preface to Studies in European Politics*, June 9th, 1866.]

THE WAR OF 1866.

The recent war was most admirably characterised, a few weeks before the first blow was struck, by a friend of mine writing to me from the continent, as a "rampagiously com-

posed tragedy of errors, in which all the actors have changed parts." On the one hand, was Austria legally right ; on the other hand, Prussia legally wrong ; and yet I and every one who had made a study of the affairs of Germany knew that the instant that the war began, all our hopes must be for the success of the latter and the failure of the former.

What has been happening before us has, when stripped of the disguises with which it has been overlaid, been simply the fourth act of the drama which began with Luther, the first act of which was closed when the Swedes left their king by the great stone on the field of Lützen. Ever since Prussia cast in her lot with the reformation, and Austria with the counter-reformation, the victory of the former, in a political sense, has been simply a question of time. It is easy to praise the fortunate, and many who, all through the year 1864, did their utmost to insult and vilify Germany, now seem to have taken for their creed "There is no God but success, and Bismarck is his prophet." But I may speak well of the victors without loss of self-respect, because at the time when Germany was most at a discount in this country, I, with your full sanction and support, spoke just as I do now.

[At Elgin, October 9th, 1866.]

AUSTRIA IN 1867.

From the fact that in the contest between Austria and Prussia, as well as in that between Austria and Italy, I always took most strongly the anti-Austrian side, some might be inclined to imagine that I looked with favor on the idea put forward in many quarters, that the breaking up of Austria would be advantageous to human liberty. I do not do so. I have never done so. I can quite understand that if the system of *dualism* now introduced in that empire should fail,

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nothing would be more natural than that the German provinces should become united with the rest of the Fatherland. That may well happen ; but the continued existence of Austria as a great Danubian power seems to me likely to be desirable in any time to which the politician can look forward. I am no enemy of Russia, but I do not want to see Russia coming farther to the West.

In the summer of 1847, when a boy just going up to Oxford, I spent some time in Austria, and went, among other places, to Pesth. Revolution was in the air. The most inexperienced observer, unless he were violently prejudiced in favor of the existing state of things, could not avoid seeing that Austria was about to experience a political earthquake. After my return to England I read everything on which I could lay my hands which in any way bore on the state of things in that empire ; and so was prepared to watch with an almost personal interest the exciting drama which soon followed. Our little world of Oxford was connected with the Hungarian war by an odd incident. The Polish General Bem, whose brilliant campaign in Transylvania in 1849 afterwards excited so much attention, had come to Oxford in the end of 1847 to give lectures on Mnemonics, and was staying there when the news of the February revolution in Paris reached that peaceable place. Some Oxford resident met him in the street, and told him the news. "Oh, then, there will be work for me," he said ; and he did not, as you may suppose, long remain in the Academic shades. On the 26th April 1849, I moved in the Union, that mimic Parliament where so many of the speakers of this generation were trained, "That this House, while it desires the re-establishment in all its strength of the Austrian empire, as advantageous to Europe, nevertheless sympathises with the revolted Hungarians." I am afraid some of my friends, to whom the details

into which I was obliged to enter were rather tiresome, maintained that I ought to have said the revolting Hungarians. Nevertheless, much to the credit of Oxford, then ultra-Conservative, the motion was carried. I think I can't be wrong in saying that that resolution,—passed, you see, by no very august assembly,—was one of the first resolutions passed in favor of the Hungarians in this country. There were many later; but too many English sympathisers, led away by the dreams of exiles, or over-excited by their indignation against the outrageous Russian intervention, went too far, and imagined that it would be to the advantage of Hungary to be independent of Austria altogether. I never did so, and the compromise which has been come to in the year 1867 represents substantially what I wished for in the spring of 1849.

[*At Peterhead, December 19th, 1867.*]

DEÁK IN 1867.

“The wheel has come full circle;” the aspirations of the best Hungarian Liberals before the great tragedy of 1848 and 1849 are at length amply fulfilled. As the eye of the political student wanders over Europe, it falls on no figure so worthy of profound respect and admiration as that of the great jurist-statesman whose name will be for ever associated with the firm assertion in youth of his country's just demands with the long infinitely anxious and often apparently hopeless struggle against adverse fortune, as with the grand and final triumph. There is no one claiming, justly or unjustly, the title of statesman who deserves so warm a welcome in this classic land of freedom; and it will assuredly be a great misfortune if Englishmen have not, before he dies, an opportunity of doing honor to the man who, of all others on the continent of Europe, has shown most of the spirit by which our own liberties were won. The name of Francis

Deák deserves a place with that of Pym and Hampden; and I do not know any other contemporary name, either in or out of England, which does.

[*At Peterhead, December 19th, 1867.*]

GÖRGEY, 1867.

Not less curious, from a different point of view, were some of the scenes at Pesth. I do not know if it attracted the attention of others; but the picture, in the letter, dated November 6, which appeared in the *Times* of November 14, of the great but unhappy commander Arthur Görgey, leaning against a column in the common gallery, and listening to a rhapsody in honor of Kossuth, seemed to me extremely remarkable. The incident was like an acted sentence of Tacitus.

[*At Peterhead, December 19th, 1867.*]

AUSTRIA IN 1868.

Of the various schemes which an Austrian statesman could have selected after Königgrätz, which would not have been open to criticism? Dualism, with as much concession as possible in all local and municipal affairs to the claims of the minor nationalities; that seems to me the best formula for the government of Austria. What is really difficult is to determine the *quantum* of the concessions. How much autonomy may be left to Bohemia? How are the rival claims of Ruthenians and Poles to be satisfied in Galicia? On the answers to be given to questions of this kind the whole future of the empire depends; but who is sufficient for these things? What statesman, inside or outside the empire, knows anything like all the *facts* of Austria? It is a

science in itself. Nay, it is half-a-dozen sciences, and the ablest politician can only move timidly and tentatively like a mule among slippery and crumbling rocks.

[*A Political Survey, December 1868.*]

DEÁK.

Deák was a Hampden, born in a happier hour,—in an hour when knots could be unravelled which, in the seventeenth century, could only be cut. *Felix opportunitate mortis.* Hampden is probably a greater and more generally revered name to his countrymen than he could possibly have been if he had lived through the war. Lamennais once said: “There is something wanting to the noblest life that does not end either on the battle field, in the dungeon, or on the scaffold.” That, of course, was an extravagant phrase, and was used, indeed, under circumstances of great excitement; still there can be no doubt that martyrdom gilds all greatness:

“Heaven must be hung with pictures of the dead!
The shroud must robe the saint!
Never one halo round a living head
Did Raphael dare to paint.”

Rare, very rare, is it, in human history, for purely civic and perfectly prosperous greatness to attain the aureole of romance which surrounds, in the memory and imagination of his countrymen, the name of the man who forms the subject of this book. The mere fact that a private citizen, who never possessed rank or title of any sort, and who died quietly in his bed, should have been buried in a grave dug out of earth brought from each of the fifty-two counties into which his native land is divided, is almost enough to put him in a class by himself. And yet, although their ends were so different, the reader of these pages will again and again be reminded of the stately inscription put up, a few

years ago, upon the cross which marks the ship-money field, amongst the beech-woods of the Chilterns :—

“ For these lands in Stoke Mandeville,
JOHN HAMPDEN
Was assessed in Twenty Shillings
Ship-money,
Levied by command of the King
Without authority of Law,
The 4th of August 1635.
By resisting this claim of the King
In Legal Strife,
He upheld the right of the People
Under the Law :
And became entitled
To grateful remembrance.
His work on Earth ended
After the conflict on Chalgrove Field
The 18th of June 1643 ;
And he rests in Great Hampden Church.”

[*Preface to a Memoir of Francis Deak, 1880.*]

AUSTRIA IN 1881.

Austria has really, I think, never better deserved the adjective traditionally associated with the name of her House, the adjective happy, than in these later days. Amidst reefs and shoals, which would have wrecked any other empire, she has found her way in a manner the most surprising. I know few stranger epigrams of events, nor any more curiously illustrative of the extraordinary vicissitudes through which Austria has passed in our days, than that the late and the present Prime Minister, born of different races, reared under totally different conditions, both now most able and faithful servants of the House of Hapsburg, neither of them old men, should both have begun their brilliant political careers by being condemned to death for political offences against the very sovereign whom they now serve.

[*At Banff, September 1881.*]

THE LOW COUNTRIES.

HOLLAND.

Ten hours' sail from the mouth of the Thames lies a long low line of coast,—“a bare strand of hillocks, heaped from ever-shifting sand.” These,—more desolate than Lido, and beat by a wilder sea than the Adriatic,—are the famous Dunes of Holland.

Behind them stretches to the frontier of Germany on the east, to the hills which border the upper and middle valleys of the Meuse upon the south-east and south, a country which is one of the least inviting and most remarkable on the globe. It comprises the whole of what we now call Holland, and the northern or Flemish part of Belgium.

“The ocean there,” says a Roman author, “pours in its vast tides twice every day, and makes it a matter of uncertainty whether the country is to be considered a part of the land or of the sea. The miserable inhabitants establish themselves upon such slightly-raised pieces of ground as they can find, or in huts built upon piles so as to be out of the reach of the highest tides. When the waters advance, they look like navigators at sea; when these recede, they seem as if they were shipwrecked.” “And yet,” he goes on a little later to tell us, “these people, if they fall under the dominion of Rome, complain of their hard fate, and speak of being reduced to servitude.”

Could Pliny re-visit now the country which he thus described, he would see strange changes. The wretched huts, of which he speaks, have grown into stately houses, and multiplied into great cities. An immense net-work of canals connects the most remote villages with the centres of trade and civilisation; huge dykes prevent the overflowing of the rivers; others, even more gigantic, keep out the sea. No where has labour encountered such difficulties, and nowhere

has it obtained such triumphs ; lakes have been turned into rich pasture-fields, and wastes of sand have become provinces of gardens.

The children of those miserable fishermen, who starved upon their mud-banks, but clung nevertheless to their unhappy independence, have earned themselves a name which history will not willingly let die. They have fought, not unsuccessfully, with three great empires,—they have won and lost wide possessions from which they are separated by half the world,—they have sailed far into the Arctic sea,—they have colonised Southern Africa,—they have opened a commerce with Japan and the islands of the Indian Ocean. They have numbered amongst them, scholars and jurists, statesmen and warriors, theologians and philosophers. They have filled their country with works of art, pictures, and painted glass, noble organs and noble churches.

But Holland has quite another side. Indeed, Europe has been laughing at the Dutch for the last three centuries.

One English writer says :

“They built their watery Babel far more high
To reach the sea than those to scale the sky ;
Yet still his claim the injured Ocean laid,
And oft at leap-frog o’er their steeples played ;
The fish oft times the burgher dispossessed,
And sat not as a meat, but as a guest.”

Another tells us—

“In Holland the laws of nature seem to be reversed ; the sea is higher than the land ; the lowest ground in the country is 24 feet below the highest water-mark, and when the tide is driven high by the wind, 30 feet ! In no other country do the keels of the ships float above the chimneys of the houses, and nowhere else does the frog croaking from among the bulrushes look down upon the swallow on the house-top.”

These and similar jests, duly reproduced by Murray, remain in our memories, and are not wholly without their

influence on our mental attitude when we enter Holland. We go thither expecting to find the quaint and unusual, and we are apt to come away, after we have run through the usual list of sights and oddities, without discovering that there is anything worthy of our attention in the social or political life of the people. That is perhaps one of the reasons why there are so few links of connection between Dutch and English society. Let any one, after a long experience of London, count up how many Dutchmen unconnected with the diplomatic service he has met there, and the number, we suspect, will not be very great.

[*Studies in European Politics*, 1866.]

DUTCH ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS IN 1862-63.

When thirty years have passed away, we may trust that some forms of opinion which we have described may have nearly ceased to exist, and a more general community of object may be attained. Peace is, we fear, not the lot of this generation. In the admirable words of the writer of a paper on Dutch Ecclesiastical Affairs, which is worthy to be put by the side of M. Réville's, and is to be found in Geltzer's *Protestantische Monatsblätter* of June 1861:—
 “With regard to all differences, in all times and in all places, one truth holds good, that to every form of opinion, even the most highly praised and celebrated, is that saying of Hase's applicable—‘It is but an attempt to grasp the Infinite, which is revealed to us as a secret.’” Every theologian now alive, who loves truth, will at the end of his career have to apply to himself the words of DeWette—

“Ich fiel in eine wirre Zeit,
 Die Glaubens-Eintracht war vernichtet;
 Ich mischte mich mit in den Streit,
 Umsonst, ich hab'ihn nicht geschlichtet.”

But even strife and trouble are better than a sleepy acquiescence in falsehood, and we are not without hope that

some of those who are fighting the battle of religious freedom in this country may be cheered by the report which we have brought back from the other side of the North Sea. When shall we be able to say that three-fourths of the English clergy belong to some shade of liberal opinion?

[*Studies in European Politics*, 1866.]

HOLLAND IN 1866-67.

From the Iberian Peninsula it is a natural transition to that small but glorious country which wearied out the power of Spain when it was at its highest, and, by the combined influence of religious and political freedom, exhausted as Schiller said, "the treasures of the golden Peru." The last twenty months have been an anxious time for Holland, but they have gone by without in any way diminishing her power or European position.

* * * * *

The position of the kingdom was, for a month or two, the reverse of agreeable, and its danger, real or imaginary, added fresh fuel to the enthusiasm which had made Dutch patriots rush to enrol themselves in Volunteer corps as soon as the war broke out in Germany. So far as I can learn, the best minds in Holland have never shared the popular delusion that they were going to be eaten up by Prussia. There is something almost ludicrous, although the inhabitant of an island so liable to panics has, perhaps, no right to smile, in the notion of a country with a great history and a distinguished European rank putting herself on a level with the mere Hanovers and Bavarias, and imagining that the same logic which made Prussia dangerous to them should make her dangerous to Holland. At the same time, there was a good deal to be said for the Dutch Volunteer movement, into which it would be out of place to enter at present, and, as long as it does not attract danger by provoking a powerful

neighbour, I wish it all success. The true policy of Holland on the continent is, however, I am convinced, to lay herself out, as much as possible, to be friendly and useful to Germany; to break down all unnecessary artificial barriers, such as a different system of coinage and the like; to trust for her continued separate nationality to natural causes, and not to the expedients of fear. I can conceive, in spite of all talk about the Dutch fleet, few things more supremely inconvenient to the best interests of Germany than obtaining possession of Holland; and if any one whispers to me Schleswig-Holstein, I can only say, that if he sees any sort of parallel between the two cases, he seems to me utterly and entirely to misconceive the position of Holland.

[*At Peterhead, December 19th, 1867.*]

HOLLAND IN 1876.

Holland has pursued, since 1847, a career of unbroken prosperity, thanks partly to the good sense of its people, partly to their firm attachment to the House of Orange, partly to the *bona fides* which that House has shown, and largely to the efforts of one very remarkable man now dead, but who was long the moulder of its internal policy,—I mean Mr. Thorbecke.

I returned the other day to its shores, after an absence of some years, and it was quite delightful to see in how many respects the country had advanced. Every where I found great new works of public convenience and utility. Parliamentary Government had become much stronger and more assured. The chief difficulties of the Colonial question, which had so long perplexed politicians, had been got over, while the position of the working classes is so much amended that one of the leaders of the Radical party having been asked, in my presence, what changes the masses now wished for,

replied, "Well, the fact of the matter is, they are doing so well that I can't honestly say they wish for any." Over all this prosperity, the labours of the great Dutch *savants*, the Cobets, Kuenena, and the like, combine with the splendid Asiatic Empire of Holland to shed a ray of romance, which prevents its prosperity from being dull or common place.

[*Address at Clifton College, 1876.*]

HOLLAND IN 1878.

I wish Mr. Senior had gone to Holland, or that some one, who had his turn for recording conversations would go there now. I am convinced that he would come back and tell us that, although it is quite true that there are a great number of rich persons in Holland who think more about keeping what they have than of increasing their fortunes, it is, as far as possible, from being true that that country is declining, or even stationary; that its sounder heads are perfectly at their ease about German aggression, thinking that if at some future period it happened to suit Holland and her great neighbour to enter into closer relations, they would enter; but that many things would have to be changed before a state of circumstances arose which could make that desirable. The attitude of the best Dutchmen towards their country is well represented by the last paragraph of a most sensible pamphlet, by M. Halverhout, which lies before me:—

"Byron dans une lettre de 1813 écrit: '*The Dutch have taken Holland, Orange boven!*'"

"Eh bien! ce cri nous ralliera à l'heure du danger, car:

'Français ne daigne, Anglais ne puis,
Prussien ne veux, Néerlandais je suis.'"

Holland is alive, and very much alive, as any one who meddled with her would soon discover; but the whole object of the pamphlet, which ends with these words, is to show, as

M. de Beaufort has done in this Review, that the fear of Germany is based upon delusions and dreams. As the writer well says :—

L'auteur de la brochure prétend que l'annexion des Pays-Bas par l'Allemagne est une question souvent débattue dans des cercles allemands non-officiels. S'il entend, par ces cercles allemands non-officiels, messieurs les commis-voyageurs, il a deux fois raison.

[*The Nineteenth Century, August 1878.*]

BELGIUM.

BELGIUM IN 1865.

Many of our readers will remember the four emblematical figures around the column which commemorates the Congress at Brussels, representing respectively :—

Liberty of Worship ;		Liberty of Instruction ;
Liberty of the Press ;		Liberty of Association.

Belgium enjoys these liberties in more unstinted measure than any European country,—our own not excepted,—and that she should succeed is of the utmost possible importance to mankind, and above all to that portion of it which does not speak the Anglo-Saxon tongue :—

Si vous réussissez (cried the Prince de Broglie to the Belgians), l'épreuve est faite, et tout le monde peut réussir après vous, et la société moderne est sauvée. Mais si vous ne réussissez pas ? Ah ! je ne veux pas prévoir cette hypothèse ! Quand on marche et quand on lutte, il ne faut pas regarder du côté de l'abîme, pour n'être pas pris par le vertige. Tout ce que je sais c'est que si vous ne réussissez pas par le noble moyen que vous employez, personne ne réussira par aucun autre."

[*Studies in European Politics, 1866.*]

BELGIUM—ITS LATE AND PRESENT KINGS, 1865.

That Leopold I. was an intelligent man and a sensible man there can be no doubt, and he was, both before and after his marriage with the heiress of England, put in a position which, in the mind of any one who had no illusions as to the direction in which the world was slowly moving, could not fail to develop good sense and intelligence into the highest of all political qualities,—wisdom. That he was gifted with any brilliant or remarkable abilities we do not in the least believe; and, in spite of the shrieks of alarm which we heard on all sides, when it was clear that the sceptre was passing from his hands, we have never met with the slightest evidence that the present king is at all less likely than his father to play well the part which destiny has assigned to him. It has been constantly repeated in the English papers that he is in the hands of the Ultramontane party. That notion is founded on the simple fact that he was brought up as a Roman Catholic, which, of course, it was inevitable that he should be. If the first ideas of his youth were not coloured to some extent by the religious views of his instructors, *they* must have been preternaturally inefficient, or *he* must have been singularly wanting in some of those qualities out of which grows the sort of character which is least susceptible of Ultramontane influences. Since his early youth he has travelled very widely, and, unless we are much misinformed, has travelled with an open mind. Nor in his alliance with an Austrian Archduchess do we see anything to fear. Whatever may have been the case, while the Archduchess Sophia was still a person of primary importance, it does not appear that the Austrian imperial family of to-day carries its private religious opinions into politics; and on the only occasion on which the present queen of the Belgians has played any conspicuous part, namely, at the death-bed of her father-in-law, while we thoroughly appreciate the dignified and stoical

behaviour of the old king, we think that her conduct, as related by those who had the best means of knowing exactly what passed, was as worthy of her position as Leopold's was of his. Founded it was, no doubt, upon a different theory of life, but one which is held by millions whom it would be absurd to accuse of being under priestly influence, and who have not even the faintest sympathy with that form of Christianity which is generally professed in Belgium.

BELGIUM IN 1865-66.

Let our English critics and foreign detractors take comfort. The very men in the House of Commons who would have strained every nerve to throw out the Government which they had supported for years, if it had dared to take one more step in favour of Denmark, and whose intended defection, intimated to Lord Palmerston at a critical moment, did much to prevent that crowning folly, would be the first to urge armed intervention in favour of Belgium, if she were at present threatened. The case of Denmark, in her relations to Schleswig-Holstein in 1864, is closely analogous to that of Holland in its relations to Belgium in 1830. In reading the history of that time, we sympathise nearly as much with Holland as with Belgium; in living through the events of 1864, we sympathised nearly as much with Denmark as with Germany; but sympathy and antipathy have no right to govern political action. Taking a broad view of the question of 1830, it was right to throw the influence of England into the scale of Belgium; taking a broad view of the question of 1864, it would have been right to throw the influence of England into the scale of the Diet.

Conscious of no jealousy towards France, but desirous, on the other hand, of seeing her increasingly prosperous, free, and powerful,—nay even content to see her, if she once more returns to a Parliamentary system of government, taking

the *pas* of us in Europe, while we fall back upon our unquestioned cosmopolitan hegemony,—we should nevertheless rather incur the great calamity of a war with her, than allow her to annex Belgium by force or fraud. If, on the other hand, it could be proved that Belgium ardently desired to be united to France, we should not think ourselves justified in attempting to forbid the banns. As we have already hinted, we think it not in the least improbable that our children's children may live to see that day arrive.

It is true, no doubt, that as long as France is under an absolute Government, not Belgium only, but every state in this part of Europe is continually in danger, for a fit of ill-temper on the part of the occupant of the Tuileries may at any moment put an end to the general peace. This state of things is, however, we all trust and believe, only temporary, and it is only simple justice to the Emperor of the French to say that we do not believe that he has the remotest intention or desire to interfere with his northern neighbour. He might be driven to attempt to annex Belgium, as he might be driven to attack England or Germany; but it would only be, as long as he continued in his sane mind, if he saw that the popular desire in France for such an enterprise was so great as to make him tremble for his own position if he did not yield to it.

[*Studies in European Politics*, 1866.]

SWITZERLAND.

SWITZERLAND IN 1867.

The statesmen of the second decade of this century wholly failed in forming into a political whole the jarring elements of race and religion in the Low Countries. Long before, a wise man and great genius, Marnix of St. Aldegonde, had tried in vain to do so. Even under the fiery breath of Spanish

persecution, they refused to be annealed. A somewhat similar experiment has succeeded better in another part of Europe. In Switzerland, Protestant and Catholic, French-speaking, German-speaking, and Italian-speaking populations contrive to live together in close political union. The politics of Switzerland are full of strange surprises for the student, and are very far from being without interest. It is only now and then, however, as in 1847, 1856, and 1860, that they mix with the main current of European affairs. The Swiss event, which has, in the year that is drawing to a close, approached most nearly to the dimensions of a European event, was the extremely warlike Peace Conference at Geneva, which formed the comic prelude to the recent Italian tragedy. Geneva is one of the most curious places on the Continent. It is a sort of representation in miniature of the politics of this quarter of the globe, and the headquarters of the most extreme political opposites. You may spend your morning with the reddest of red republicans, and your evening with people who are as like an Eldonian Tory as anything now to be found in real life.

[*At Peterhead, December 19th, 1867.*]

THE ZÜRICH MOVEMENT IN 1868.

If any one asks, what interest can this storm in a teacup have for us, I would beg him to reconsider the events which occurred in Switzerland in 1846-47, and say whether these were without influence on the fall of the July monarchy, and the troubles which shook so many thrones in the year of revolutions. Next I would remind him that Switzerland is trilingual, and that any movement which powerfully excites the political, social, or religious passions of her people is carried into Italy through Lugano, into France through Geneva, into Germany through Zürich and Basle. Lastly, I would observe that as it would be extremely

unwise for English politicians to neglect to study the democratic institutions of the United States, because those institutions work under conditions very dissimilar to those under which democratic institutions will, in all probability, one day work in England, so it would be extremely unwise to neglect to watch the development of the democratic institutions of Switzerland, because these also work under conditions very different from those which are ever likely to prevail here. The truth is, that the two sets of dissimilar conditions supplement and throw light upon each other. The great Republic of the New World, with its young civilisation, its widely-scattered inhabitants, and the vast unoccupied regions which stretch around it, will be all the more instructive to us if we turn now and then to look at the little Republic of the Old World, with its ancient history and crowded population, hemmed in by the most powerful and jealous of European military monarchies.

[*A Political Survey, December 1868.*]

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

SPAIN IN 1864.

I observe an opinion expressed in some quarters that the Papal Government will be able to support itself by leaning upon Austria and Spain. As to Austria I say nothing, but as to Spain I would not, if I were the Cardinal Secretary of State, attempt to lean very heavily upon that staff. True it is, that the Roman Court has boundless influence over Queen Isabella and her immediate *entourage*. True it is, that the nation still does exclusive lip-service to its old creed, but apathy and indifferentism are the two words which now best express the religious state of Spain. Of course, there are exceptions to every rule; but any one who goes to Madrid and inquires into this subject will, I think, find that

the long political and religious tyranny of the Inquisition did not end before it had eaten out the heart of faith as well as that of free inquiry. Trust me, that Spain will not long stand in the way of advancing Italy. It is far more likely that she will herself advance, and the hour of remarkable events beyond the Pyrenees is perhaps not very far distant.

[*At Elgin, October 27th, 1864.*]

SPAIN IN 1866.

Spain would have made a very great step towards prosperity, if she could only understand that all intelligent Englishmen wish that she should rise to a point of national wealth and real power, such as she has never yet attained. They are quite aware that, in the present condition of the world, Spain cannot be prosperous without being enlightened, peaceful and industrious; and they well know that the transformation of the Iberian Peninsula into an enlightened, peaceful, and industrious State, would not only be a great blessing to mankind, but would add enormously to the well-being of their own country, which is becoming every day more and more the workshop and the *entrepôt* of the world.

[*Studies in European Politics, 1866.*]

SPAIN IN 1868.

Up to this time, however, the revolution of 1868 will compare favorably with any other Spanish revolution. There has been less bloodshed, and a much greater display of good sense than has been at all usual.

The greatest difficulty is, of course, that of the form of government. It would appear that the republican party is very active, and when people decide peremptorily that Spain is not suited for a republican government, they perhaps too much forget the strong tendency towards republican govern-

ment which the Spanish race has shown in the New World. I observe in the *National-Zeitung* of Berlin that its correspondent heard Castelar tell the crowd who assembled to meet him at Irun, that, if a republic were not adopted, it was not worth while to overthrow the dynasty, and that the only result of perpetuating monarchy would be to raise up a republican Vendée. Since his return to Madrid, he has been labouring for a federal republic. If, however, a federal republic were once introduced, so strong are the centrifugal forces in Spain that we might well see a repetition of the struggles between ultra-centralisers and ultra-federalists which have been so common in Spanish America, though railways, of course, would tend to make them less probable.

[*A Political Survey, December 1868.*]

SPAIN IN 1876.

Of all European countries, she is certainly the one in which practice is in the most violent contrast with theory. Let any competent person take up a book of Spanish proverbs, and he will very soon come to the conclusion that good sense and mother-wit have never found such admirable expression. Let him go a step higher, and look for wise maxims for the conduct of human life in the most difficult and delicate circumstances; let him look out for the kind of book which Oxenstierna, when he dismissed his son with the memorable saying, "Knowest thou not with how little wisdom the affairs of the world are conducted?" might have given him to help him to better that world, while taking the best possible care of his own interests, and he will find it,—strange to say,—amongst the works of a Spanish Jesuit. He has been dead for more than two hundred years; but I defy a conclave of the keenest men of the world, and the most experienced statesmen, to produce anything

better in the year 1876. And yet, though the people think in many respects so wisely, and though the country is full of good elements, every act it performs, for long periods together, seems more foolish than the one before.

[*Address at Clifton College, 1876.*]

SPAIN IN 1881.

The recent elections in Spain have given a great majority to the Liberal as distinguished from the Conservative and Radical party. One is only afraid that, as has so often been the case in Spain, it is too good a majority, for it has happened in our own time in that country that the supreme dictator of one Parliament did not even find a seat in the next,—so great is the power which is wielded in the election by the Government of the hour. It would seem, however, that there has been far less pressure than usual, and that we may, at least till we learn something decisive to the contrary, trust that there is really a progress in that long storm-tossed country to that kind of stable equilibrium which, in the days in which we live, can never be found for any length of time, except in the ascendancy of the party of steady and rational progress. May we not indulge in the hope that the golden words which the greatest of Spanish orators addressed in Rome to an assemblage of Italians are finding an echo in his own land : “ The Radical parties, the advanced parties of all Europe, must learn to unite courage with moderation, the scientific sense with the historical sense, a noble impatience for progress with that political tact, that measure of reality, that knowledge of the people, without which you sow good and reap evil. Do not satisfy yourselves with having founded Italy, preserve her ; and let it never be said that to correct a defect in your statue, perhaps a necessary one, you have dashed it into a thousand pieces. I shall never be weary of treating this subject, for

I believe that the greatest evil of modern democracy is impatience, and the one rock on which it may run is the work of the demagogue."

[*At Banff, September 1881.*]

PORTUGAL IN 1881.

It is seldom, indeed, that the affairs of Portugal have in our generation excited the interest in this country, which they did so often in the days of our fathers, but, since I was here last, we have heard a good deal of them. A question about the ratification of a Treaty by which this country would have obtained some advantages, and Portugal a great many,—a Treaty which would have given the people of the Transvaal an outlet to the sea on Delagoa Bay, much to the benefit of the possessions of the Portuguese in those parts, caused such a ferment in Lisbon as to necessitate the employment of the troops. The recent changes in South Africa have reduced to a minimum the importance of this Treaty to Great Britain ; but in the interest of Portugal herself as well as of Africa, I should like to hear that it had finally passed into the realm of accomplished fact.

[*At Banff, September 1881.*]

RUSSIA.

RUSSIA IN 1860.

A work has lately appeared from the pen of a Russian nobleman, entitled *La Verité sur la Russie*. It is well worth studying by those who would form some idea of the coming history of the mighty empire with which we were so lately at war, and which is in some sort the natural antithesis ;

I do not say the natural enemy of England. Far, indeed, from that. I quite agree with M. Herzen in his pamphlet published under the feigned name of Iskander, in thinking that a free Russia would be our natural ally,—for our interests would not clash but coincide.

[*At Elgin, October 1st, 1860.*]

POLAND IN 1863.

In the long and difficult negotiations which have been carried on about Poland, I see as yet nothing to find fault with. Ministers would assuredly not have been supported by the country in a more decidedly warlike policy. I admit that, if all the Powers have asked from Russia were granted by her, the Polish Question would be far from being settled ; but I have yet to learn that that question is susceptible of any really satisfactory solution. If the plan of the Marquis Wielopolski be carried out, Poland will be Russianised. If, on the other hand, the plan of the leaders of the insurrection succeeds, Europe will see a new State stretching nearly from the Black Sea to the Baltic, and laying claim to large portions both of Austria and Prussia. I ask, is there any reason to suppose this possible ? And if it were possible, turn to the pages of even a historian so favourable to Poland as Rulhière. Is that the state of things in order to bring back which it is worth while to engage in a colossal war ? Let any man put himself in the place of the Emperor Alexander, and say what he would do. I know not what he can do in this Polish imbroglio, except to allow himself to be borne along by the stream of events, and to re-echo the words of Lord Palmerston,—the most remarkable words, by the way, which I ever heard him utter,—“There is no such calamity as to be born to a heritage of triumphant wrong.”

[*At Elgin, September 9th, 1863.*]

RUSSIA IN 1864.

Buddeus mentions that the Czar constantly repeats the words, "Better from above than from below." If so, he is, as Cavour once said to the writer of this paper, when speaking of Louis Napoleon, "*Un homme habile qui connaît son peuple et son temps.*" We hope everything for Russia; but our hopes are mingled with fears, which the reader who has accompanied us through the preceding pages will hardly think unreasonable. What Custine said is, we fear, still true: "Russia is the country in Europe where men are most unhappy." Before she reaches the point at which we in England have arrived,—great as are the still uncured evils of our society,—she has many a difficult crisis to traverse. Will she ever succeed in reconciling Poland to her sway, or in cutting adrift and converting into a peaceful and friendly neighbour so much of that country as she cannot assimilate? Will she be able to substitute for her communal organisation, so unfavourable to individual enterprise, a system like that of the West, without creating a mass of pauperism worse than that with which we are struggling? or, if not, will she succeed in a new experiment, and reconcile the commune with advanced agriculture and civilisation? will the empire hold together under one central authority? or, if not, will its surface be covered by independent communities which will keep the peace, and do no hurt to the prosperity of each? will the high and pure form of Christianity, which is held by the best minds in Germany and England, be substituted in any reasonable length of time for the delusions which now prevail? will the universal venality of the functionaries be gradually amended? will the army be reduced within reasonable limits, and military service cease to be a curse and a scourge to the population? will justice and law be soon substituted for the arbitrary decisions of power? will the Russian Government, while asserting its fair claims as a European power, more

especially in the Eastern Peninsula, learn that its true field of fame is Northern and Central Asia? will the experiments we are working out teach Russian statesmen that nothing is gained by fostering branches of industry which have no real affinity for the country? will a succession of wise and moderate rulers inaugurate and watch over the commencement of constitutional government; or will Russia have to win her liberties, as others have won them, with blood and toil? who can answer these questions? and yet, while they remain unanswered, how uncertain must be the future of this mighty empire and of the political state-system of which it forms so important a part!

[*North British Review*, 1864, republished in *Studies in European Politics*, 1866.]

DEMOCRACY IN RUSSIA.

There are politicians, and liberal politicians too, who seem to forget that there ever was a year 1848, or if they don't quite forget it, they think that many of its most characteristic events were mere accidents, not symptoms of mighty forces working below our feet. That is not my view. That is not the impression which I brought back some months ago even from the country in Europe which is generally supposed to be that in which the popular element is least active. Elsewhere I have tried to point out that he will be able to form but a poor guess as to the future of Russia who does not allow a large share in moulding that future to the democratic element.

[*At Elgin, October 27th, 1864.*]

RUSSIA IN 1866.

The best that we can expect is the gradual introduction, from above, of judicious measures of improvement, many of

which will look better on paper than they will work ; but by which, nevertheless, a vast amount of evil will be swept away. After all, the rule of the present Czar has lasted only ten years, and yet how much has been effected ! To say nothing of the emancipation of the serfs, and the gradual creation of an enormous mass of free proprietors,—surely one of the greatest changes for good which has ever been effected by a single act,—we have the relaxation of the censorship, the reduction of the price of passports from £80 to a figure which permits any one to travel, the abolition of several atrocious methods of punishment, the institution of representative bodies for local matters, an amnesty which restored to their country many of the victims of Nicholas, a humaner system in the navy, improvements in the universities, increased facilities for communication, and a generally gentler and more civilised spirit in the administration. When we reckon up the gains and the losses of the Crimean war, do not let us omit to remember that these were amongst the things which it procured. Nothing less violent than that catastrophe would have sufficed to break up the system of Nicholas.* We know that there are many dark shades which must be filled in, if we would complete the picture. We appreciate, to the full, the horror of the Polish tragedy. We know that people, writing of the rule of General Kauffmann in Lithuania, speak of “le bon vieux temps de Moura-

* “The prosperity of the Emperor Nicholas, and the over-weening self-confidence which it engendered, remind one of nothing so much as a Greek tragedy, which some of you know well. It was the story of the *Œdipus Tyrannus* acted over again on a gigantic scale. Destiny, however, had not in store for the mighty autocrat any peaceful grove of Colonos. The Furies did not come to him in the form of the good goddesses, when his heart broke in the great agony of that terrible spring, and the proud head which had attracted the eyes of his contemporaries more than that of any other man, lay down to its long sleep in the gloomy church which rises above the citadel of Petersburg. Hardly were his eyes closed than the whole edifice of his policy crashed down.”

[*Address at Clifton College, 1876.*]

vielf.” We know that the Russian nobility has suffered severely, to the extent often of a fourth or more of its income. We know that there is a violent anti-social faction, and a faction which thinks that the system of Nicholas was perfection. We know that many of the improvements which we have instanced are merely beginning to work, and that Russia is only commencing the race of civilisation ; but after making every deduction, we still think that, unless the policy of Alexander II. very materially alters, he is likely to take a high place amongst the benefactors of mankind. The atrocious attempt to assassinate him which has just startled Europe will, we would fain hope, turn out to be the act of a man of impaired intellect. Certain it is that nothing more unfortunate for the cause of the liberal party in Russia could possibly have occurred.

[*Studies in European Politics*, 1866.]

RUSSIA IN 1867.

Europe may comfort herself in this way :—Unless Russia goes on to become a really civilised State, she will always remain what she is now, except for purposes of defence, a comparatively weak State. If she were to introduce Free-Trade, reform her frightfully corrupt administrative system, push railways and schools everywhere, reduce her army, and keep profound peace for twenty years, I for one should be very sorry to bet sixpence against her being in Constantinople before the end of the century.

[*At Peterhead, December 19th, 1867.*]

RUSSIA IN CENTRAL ASIA, 1867.

I am still of opinion, as I was in 1864, that English statesmen should keep in view the expediency of arriving one day at an understanding with Russia, and becoming close

allies in the East. We can do each other much harm by hostility, and we have nothing to gain by it. England wants no more Asiatic conquests, and if Russia is not satiated by annexing Khiva, Bokhara, and Samarcand, which she will no doubt one day do, surely China and not India will be the goal of her ambition. For the present, it appears to me that the policy of Sir John Lawrence, with its "masterly inactivity," is distinctly the right policy. Let us watch with the greatest care the progress of Russia. Let us treasure every scrap of authentic information that comes from Central Asia ; but let us keep well away from what has been truly called "the fathomless gulf of Afghan politics." There will be time enough, even if everything takes the worst possible turn, to discuss whether it would be advisable to turn Kandahar and Herat into great fortresses in advance of our frontier, as has been suggested by one whose opinions on such a subject, whether we share them or not, should ever be listened to with the greatest respect.

Let us consolidate our own power in India by improved government. Let us develop our communications, and complete, as soon as financial arrangements will permit, a railway to Peshawar. If we do this, we may await with perfect calmness the approach of Russia, even if she draws near with no friendly feelings ; but, without at all desiring to see any premature negotiations about limits, I distinctly hope that before the Russian and British outposts face each other, events in Europe may have taken such a course as to remove any ground of rivalry or bad blood.

[*Speech at Peterhead, December 19th, 1867.*]

POLAND IN 1867.

Now, for Russia, the continued possession of at least the so-called Western Provinces,—for with regard to what is known as Congress-Poland I will not express an opinion,—is

a matter of life and death. She can no more allow Wilna to be in the hands of an enemy than we can allow Dublin ; and depend upon it, she will hold on by those provinces with a tenacity we ourselves could not surpass. Her sense of their enormous importance explains, I do not say justifies, her wholesale expropriation in those provinces. With Congress-Poland, as it is called, the case is somewhat different. Supposing the attempt, which has been made since the insurrection, to gain over the peasantry to the Russian side, by vast material benefits, should wholly fail, and supposing Austria should see her advantage in answering the Russian Pan-Slavist intrigues, by proclaiming the resurrection of Poland ; or supposing Germany were, in some unforeseen crisis, to find her advantage in doing the same, it is quite possible that there might once more be a Poland independent of Russia : but if nothing of this kind happens, and if the vast Russian nucleus of the empire holds together, I think we must say, in the words which were once addressed to me by one of the greatest of French statesmen,* "The case of Poland is in every way sad ; but, what is saddest of all is, that there is no hope."

If I were blamed for the gloomy views which I express on this question, I could plead in justification that, belonging to a country that had no direct interest in the matter, I had had very unusual opportunities for forming an impartial opinion. I was one of the very few persons, and, so far as I am aware, the only Englishman actively engaged in politics, who had, during the insurrection, an opportunity of hearing, from their own lips, the ideas of the leading representatives of every section of opinion upon this important subject. From the accredited representative of the Polish National Government in London to the prime mover of Russian ultra-patriotic fanaticism at Moscow ; from Czartoryski at Paris to Mouravieff in his own lion's den at Wilna ; from the most active English

* M. Guizot, in January 1864.

sympathisers with the Polish cause, in this country, to the Englishmen who, officially or non-officially, were watching the various phases of the contest at Warsaw or St. Petersburg ; from Berg to Wielopolski, to say nothing of the spokesmen of other less important fractions of opinion, I heard what in 1863 and 1864 every one had to say, and formed my own judgment to the best of my ability and with a sore heart.

It is curious to observe how completely that country, about which, four years ago, all the journalists in Europe were writing, has passed out of notice. This is a pity, for one day, in some form or other, the question will turn up again, and the public mind will then be found as little able to deal with it judiciously as it was four years ago.

The present time would be a very favourable one for readers in this country to reperuse Mr. Sutherland Edward's two excellent books and to read Mr. Day's *Russian Government in Poland*, which, having come out long after the insurrection, and being on the unpopular side, has met with far less notice than it deserves. In that work, at page 174 and elsewhere, people will have an opportunity of studying the models after which the Fenian proclamations which we have lately read were framed, and will learn who first sullied the cause of liberty by a system of political assassination unworthy of Philip II., or his even more murderous father.

[*At Peterhead, December 19th, 1867.*]

POLAND, 1867.

The mistake which is usually made by French and English politicians, in dealing with the Polish question, is that they look only at one side of the shield. That is an easy and quite delightful way of doing business. No generous mind can avoid sympathising most deeply with the Poland, which alone we, Westerns, know,—the Poland of the upper class. It

is the nation of brave men and beautiful women *par excellence*. Its history has been one long romance ; its existence has been one long martyrdom. So far all is simple and easy. The question does not seem difficult ; nay, rather, there seems to be no question at all. It is not until one puts one's self on the other side, and looks at it from the Russian point of view, and also, perhaps, from the point of view of the Polish peasantry, that the tremendous difficulties of the problem rise before one, colossal, and, as far as human sagacity can see, for the present, insurmountable.

[*At Peterhead, December 19th, 1867.*]

RUSSIA IN 1868.

We are not nearer than we were a year ago to having any satisfactory information as to how far the measures which Russia has taken since the close of the Polish insurrection are, or are not really consolidating her power. Who is going to win the peasants ? Will the Russian win them by his agrarian legislation, or will the Polish gentry win them by patriotism, sentiment, and religion ? On the answer to that question, it depends whether Poland is to be, in the future, Russia's Ireland,—a difficulty ; or Russia's Venetia,—an impossibility.

[*A Political Survey, December 1868.*]

RUSSIA IN 1868.

It is very well and very right to sympathise with Poland ; but, as has been truly said, to sympathise with Poland is not necessarily to know Russia. What is gained by shutting out the Muscovite from the political communion of the West ? What is gained by speaking of her as an Asiatic, and not a European Power,—as Tartar, and not Slavonian ? There she is, nevertheless, a fact by no means to be passed over, a quarter of the world, as Herzen says, between Europe and

America. "What is the use," continues that witty writer "of trying as hard as you can to make an enemy of the *young Bear*? Wasn't it enough for you to fight with the *old one*, who was more hostile to us than to you, and who hated us much more heartily than he hated you?"

[*A Political Survey, December 1868.*]

RUSSIA IN 1868.

Her contact with us in Asia is a thing not of to-morrow or next day, but it is a thing to which we must look forward as extremely probable, and we must watch, more carefully than we do, what kind of power Russia is becoming, before we can form a right judgment as to the frame of mind in which we should anticipate that contact.

[*A Political Survey, December 1868.*]

RUSSIA IN 1877.

Our natural attitude towards Russia should, as I think, be based on full knowledge of all relevant facts connected with her present strength and relations to all other countries, and on a calm calculation of what she wants, and is likely to want, before she reaches the limits of her ambition,—a calculation made with a view to ascertaining what can be granted without injury to ourselves or others, and what should be firmly resisted. Of course, this policy must be founded on the understanding that other nations see matters as we do, and are to take their part in opposing what would be injurious to themselves. We have this great advantage, that there is no special English, as distinguished from common European, interest that can be menaced at any time by Russia, which we are not strong enough most amply to protect; but I for one, although prepared to go all reasonable lengths in non-

intervention, am not prepared to give up desiring to act with other powers, for objects of common interest, until it is proved that they will not act.

[*The Nineteenth Century*, April 1877.]

RUSSIA IN CENTRAL ASIA.

If, diverging from the line of least resistance, the line commanded by *her* interests, Russia passes beyond Merv, then *our* interests would become seriously affected, and an aggression on Afghanistan would inevitably, unless the whole state of circumstances in that part of the world change in some way that cannot be foreseen, bring on war with England. It is undesirable that she should ever come to Merv, and our diplomacy should be exerted, in the interest of both nations, to keep her away from Merv as long as possible. Not that her being at Merv really matters to us, but because her advance to Merv, under existing circumstances, would give much occasion to those who wish to envenom the relations between the two countries. But sooner or later she will probably come to Merv, unless she means to draw back instead of going forward in Asia. The point on which we have to look with jealousy is Herat, though the importance of Herat to a power, which can hold Cabul and Ghuznee and Jellalabad, may be over-rated. Still it is of considerable importance to us that it should stay as it is, while it could be of no conceivable advantage to Russia to go there, except with a view to interfering with us. I maintain, however, that there is no evidence that serious Russian statesmen have the slightest intention of meddling with Herat. They know their interest and our strength a great deal too well, even if they had any evil will towards us in Asia. To the best Russians their conquests in Turkestan are little more than a nuisance,—a thing which has been entailed upon them partly by the disagreeable necessity of protecting

outlying Russian settlements, partly by the desire of officers for decorations and distinctions, partly by a foolish commercial policy,—the bastard child of our own system in ignorant, and by most of us forgotten, days. I make no doubt whatever that Russia has done a vast number of things in Central Asia, which preclude her from having any right to talk about Turkish inhumanity; but, at the same time, I make no doubt that her rule in Central Asia is a great deal better than that which preceded it, and will be much better than it is now, when Tashkendian is, I dare say very properly, a Russian equivalent for ‘rascal.’

[*The Nineteenth Century*, April 1877.]

RUSSIA IN 1881.

If we go still further East and cross the Vistula, we come into a country of which Europe has heard little or nothing for many years, but of whose troubles our generation has hardly heard the last; while beyond it, in Russia proper, men are always finding out more and more that Nicholas was right when he said that he was sitting upon a volcano. If the great autocrat had been a wiser, and, I may add, a braver man, he would have not only recognised the danger of his position, but have taken means, even at some risk, to prevent its becoming more dangerous. In his time the revolutionary forces were only political, and might have been dealt with by political methods familiar to students of history. Now, however, who would venture to say with confidence what ought to be done? The danger by which authority is menaced in Russia is not merely a political danger, it is a social danger,—a social danger of unknown character and extent. Of course, the first idea of an Englishman would be to make reforms in a constitutional direction; and danger for danger, I would rather try that than let things go on as they are

going. But I speak not from conjecture, but from positive knowledge, when I say that some of the most dangerous disturbers of the European peace have been calculating upon that very step being taken. They consider that the old edifice of Russian polity could not bear any tinkering, and that the whole would come tumbling to the ground, leaving them masters of the situation. Still, I say, risk for risk, I would try for the alliance of the constitutional party against the party of universal disorder and destruction. It is strange to think that it is this power, so mined and so menaced, which excites such wild fears in the breasts of some of our countrymen.*

[*At Banff, September 1881.*]

TURKEY.

THE EBB OF TURKISH POWER.

Two hundred years have not passed since the clouds of irregulars who accompanied the Turkish armies, were burning the homesteads of upper Austria; and it seems far from impossible that before 1883 the traveller may look upon the Turkish quarter of Belgrade as he now does on that one last tomb amongst the vineyards of Buda, whither pilgrims from the far East still repair at distant intervals to pray over the sacred dust, and to mourn the decay of Islam.

[*The Continental Review*, 1858.]

TURKEY IN 1858.

The sick man is assuredly dying; and our duty towards Turkey is a double one,—to endeavour to act the part of the family physician and of the family solicitor. We are bound by treaty to do all that we can to preserve a health which is

* See for further remarks on our relations with Russia under head of "India."

daily sinking, but failing that, we should take such means as are in our power to secure the sick man's rich inheritance to his natural heirs, the Christian populations subject to his rule.

[*House of Commons*, 1858.]

TURKEY IN 1862 (REGNANTE PALMERSTON).

I do not mean to say that our Turkish policy is necessarily wrong, but it has a very ugly look. That the Turkish power in Europe must ultimately succumb to the increasing strength of the Christian populations, which it holds under its sway, seems to me so self-evident a proposition that I could wish that, while we support Turkey against all foreign foes, and do all the duties of a faithful ally, we should not contrive to give Europe the impression that we are accomplices in keeping down the Christian populations for some interest of our own. We must take care, while we try to checkmate the intrigues which other nations are carrying on in the Eastern Peninsula, that we do not enable any of them to retaliate by bringing to bear against us the public opinion of Liberal Europe.

[*At Elgin, September 23rd, 1862.*]

TURKEY IN 1863.

I hope that Constantinople may never belong either to Russian Slavonians or Servian Slavonians; and the Servians, to do them justice, have no wish to have it. They are quite content that it should be, as it will I hope one day be, a free port under the protection and guarantee of all Europe and of the whole civilised world.

[*House of Commons, May 1863.*]

'THE EASTERN QUESTION,' 1866.

We have only too many answers from Anti-Turks and Philo-Turks, while recently the cool-headed and well-informed politicians, who have been called Anti-Anti-Turks, have

found a mouth-piece in one * who has few equals in the Horatian art of combining truth with merriment.

[*At Elgin, October 9th, 1866.*]

THE LAST LORD STRANGFORD.

Lord Strangford was one of the most remarkable men I have ever come across in life. He was wholly unfitted for action ; he could never have held his own in the House of Lords, nor would he have been at all suited for the ordinary work of the diplomatist ; but he had gone out to Constantinople as a very young man ; he had spent twelve years in the East, studying its languages, its history, and its ways, as very few English men ever study anything, and in this he was aided by a memory and by a facility in acquiring languages, which appeared to persons who knew him intimately, and who were far from deficient in these respects, almost super-human. Of our home politics he knew little or nothing, and there were many large subjects which he never touched, so that people who approached him on these never knew his strength ; but on all that related to the countries between the Ionian Sea and Peshawar he had no rival, till at least one gets into those far off Asiatic regions which no one enters without making, even if he sometimes differs from him, a well-merited obeisance to Sir Henry Rawlinson.

If Lord Strangford had lived in the ordinary rough-and-tumble of our political life, it would have been unnecessary to say all this ; but he had extremely feeble health ; he mixed very little with the world ; he never, I think, wrote with his name, and only those who knew him well had the slightest idea how sad a loss England had suffered, when early in 1869 we were startled by the news of his sudden death.

[*The Eastern Question, an Address delivered at Inverurie, 1876.*]

* The last Lord Strangford.

TURKEY IN 1867.

The question that is really of interest for all of us is, can the barbaric empire hold together in spite of the disintegrating processes going on all through it? Or, if not, can it break up, without involving all its wide provinces in a mist of blood, and making clear the path for Russia, before Russia has attained such a point of internal development as might make her advance, if not beneficial, at least harmless?

Almost every man who goes to the East now-a-days comes back either a violent Philo-Turk or a violent Anti-Turk,—much to the distress of those who, like myself, wish to look at the Eastern question objectively, and to be as little as possible affected by opposite currents of mere sentiment. Perhaps annoyance at the distinctly Philo-Turk policy of Lord Palmerston, and all the troubles that came out of it, drove us a little too much in the Anti-Turk direction; and if so, now is the time to be on our guard, lest the reaction carries us too far the other way. It is a moment to wait and to watch, rather than to dogmatise.

[*At Peterhead, December 19th, 1867.*]

SERVIA AND BULGARIA, 1867.

Higher up the great river we find the powerful and growing principality of Servia, with more than a million of inhabitants, animated by the most bitter hostility against their old master, and still suzerain, the Turk. When I was in that country, and, indeed, up to last year, the Porte had still the right of garrisoning Belgrade and other strong places; but that right has now been taken away—justly I think; though, of course, from a Turkish point of view, it was a great sacrifice to give up a place connected with so many national glories as the stronghold which frowns over the mouth of the Save. Nor can it be denied that, by giving up the fortress, the Turks unbridled a headstrong and dangerous

enemy. The Servians are much more awake than the Bulgarians, and have learned the art of pulling the strings of public opinion in the West. The Bulgarians are, however, more numerous, and have, some who should know tell me, more of the qualities of a ruling race. On this I express no opinion; but it is clear that the Servians are extremely energetic and extremely self-conscious. I remember a Servian saying to me, "Not England, not America, is freer than we." They are, to the north of the peninsula, what the Greeks are to the south, *Pholades*, very weak to look at, but which can, nevertheless, bore through rocks on which the dash of the storm-wave produces no apparent effect. If there is really any serious mischief afoot for the spring, they are pretty sure to have a hand in it, as are their restless co-religionists the Montenegrins.

[*At Peterhead, December 19th, 1867.*]

GREECE IN 1867.

We might sum up, perhaps, the whole state of things in Greece and Turkey in the words of an eminent political economist,* who was asked on his return from those countries some years ago—"Well, what do you think of Greece?" "Oh, it is as bad as can be," he answered. "And what of Turkey?" "Oh, it is *worse than can be.*" This remark would require to be further qualified by the observation, that in Turkey the tide of national life is ebbing, while in Greece it is flowing. That very resignation on which Mr. Longworth dwells, in the striking passage which I lately read to you, is not a hopeful sign. There never was a truer saying than the famous German one—"Money lost, little lost; Honour lost, much lost; Heart lost, all lost."

[*At Peterhead, December 19th, 1867.*]

* Mr. Senior.

BULGARIANS IN 1868.

Of all the subject races, the Bulgarians are least inimical to the authority of the Sultan. It is more than probable that if their very moderate and reasonable demands were complied with, they would be a strong bulwark to the empire. [*A Political Survey, December 1868.*]

GREECE IN 1868.

The state of things in Greece remains substantially where the year 1867 left it. "The great idea," that is, the re-conquest of Constantinople, appears to be no nearer to realisation. Nor do any signs appear of the nation buckling seriously to what ought to be its task,—the task, namely, of making the most of its resources in a common-place moral kind of way. One can well understand that a nation which can look back upon such a past, separated though it be from its great past by wave on wave of almost annihilating conquest, should cherish vague dreams of territorial extension, and hunger fiercely, not only for Crete, but for Thessaly and Epirus. It may be that the energy of the desire may accomplish its object, for he is a bold man who will say what will, and what will not, happen in south-eastern Europe. Meantime, I wish the news-dealers at Athens would be more scrupulous in their assertions. Scrupulosity, however, was not one of the virtues of their illustrious ancestors; and, perhaps, that excellent Hellene did not miscalculate, who, on being asked, "Why on earth do your countrymen circulate such fictions? They don't gain anything by them," answered, "I beg your pardon, they gain at least five per cent."

[*A Political Survey, December 1868.*]

CENTRAL ASIA IN 1868.

But there is another way of looking at the whole matter. Is it quite so sure that Russia must be always hostile to this

country? Is it not possible that there may come a time when we shall understand each other in Asia, and strengthen each other's hands? Many a day must pass before Bokhara becomes a bed of roses for any Christian ruler; and if Russia can trouble us, we can assuredly return the compliment. It would be very premature to do anything at present; but I cannot help thinking that the day may come when we may hear of a co-operative policy in Central Asia, as we have heard already of a co-operative policy at Peking.

[*A Political Survey, December 1868.*]

ENGLISH INTERESTS IN TURKEY, 1876.

Then it is asked, if Turkey were divided, how need English interests suffer more than they do now? To this I reply, I do not think they need suffer at all more. If an arrangement could be made by which Constantinople, with both banks of the Dardanelles, the sea of Marmora, and the Bosphorus, could be made into a neutral State guaranteed by all Europe,—*a sufficiently large if*, English interests would be but slightly affected by anything that could possibly happen in the Eastern Peninsula. Servians, Bulgarians, Albanians, Turks, Greeks, and all the rest of them might be left to fight for the next twenty years without further harm arising to this far-off island than the damage to trade due to warlike disturbance in a market of subordinate importance.

Those who defended the Crimean war on the ground of its being advantageous to the interests of England to invest blood and treasure in keeping up the Turkish Empire have been proved by events to have been utterly mistaken. The defence of the Crimean war should be based on quite different grounds,—on the common interest of nations in preventing wanton aggression, on the manifest expediency of curbing, in 1853, the over-weening arrogance of the Emperor Nicholas. The

men who made the Crimean war had not forgotten the invasion of Hungary, and some of them doubtless remembered the proclamation to the Russian armies, which contained the proud words—"Nobiscum Deus ! Audite, populi, et vince-mini quia nobiscum Deus !"

[*The Contemporary Review*, July 1876.]

RUSSIA AND CONSTANTINOPLE.

There is just one caution which I should like to give before sitting down :—The Jews are, it is said, in the habit of celebrating to this day the events recorded in the Book of Esther by feasts and family gatherings. The amount of wine, which they may drink at these, is regulated by a judicious and certainly by no means illiberal rule. They are permitted to drink without committing any breach of their law as long as they can distinguish between the two propositions,—cursed be Haman ! and blessed be Mordecai ! Now, gentlemen, I would propose that we should take a lesson, not by any means the first, from that ancient people. And the lesson is this. We may go on drinking the generous wine of humanitarian enthusiasm as long as we can distinguish between these two propositions. It would be no such great inconvenience to Europe *if the Sultan were out of Constantinople*, and it would be no such great inconvenience to Europe *if the Czar were in Constantinople*. When we begin to get hazy about the difference between these two propositions, it is high time to lay the cup aside, however brightly it sparkles, and however soft are the melodies by which some of our companions at the board are endeavouring to soothe us. I say this although I have the most perfect faith in the good intentions of the Czar, as expressed in his communications with Lord Augustus Loftus, published in yesterday's papers. I know that some of the best and wisest Russians believe that the possession of Constantinople would be an evil and

not a good to their country. I am glad to see that the Czar himself holds that opinion. The fact, however, that it would be an evil to Russia that she should be on the Bosphorus is just one of the reasons why I do not wish to see her there. I have a great regard for Russia, with a strong belief in her future, and I do not want to see her led away from what I hold to be her real mission by any false ideal. I know, however, there is in Russia a current of public opinion very deep and very wide flowing towards Constantinople, and I should be sorry if any incautious utterance in this country should allow her to suppose that we have any doubt about the inexpediency of her being there,—the inexpediency to collective Europe much more than to Great Britain. The Czar is, indeed, a mighty potentate, but no potentate, however mighty, can resist the logic of events. I do not doubt that he was absolutely honest and truthful about Khiva, yet *that* happened which we were given to understand would *not* happen—nevertheless. I do not say that it mattered in the least to us what the Russians did or did not do at Khiva. It would have been wiser not to have occupied ourselves about it at all, except to observe and remember. By meddling with things which do not really concern us directly or indirectly, we simply weaken ourselves. Depend upon it that the stream of circumstances will carry Russia towards Constantinople, unless something stronger than the decaying empire of the Sultan is sooner or later put there. The Czar may wish it, or may not wish it; but it will come to pass. Jove himself must yield to destiny—

“His hands may bear
The thunder or the balance. Still the power
That masters even the Immortal, is the hour.”

And the hour of Europe's having to oppose by force or acquiesce in Russian domination on the Golden Horn will assuredly strike, if no stronger civilisation than the Turkish is there before her.

[At Elgin, November 1876.]

TURKEY AND RUSSIA IN 1877.

By all means let us join with Russia, but if we join with her, let it be for a well-defined object, and let us not join with her alone. Let us join with Russia and all the Great Powers to settle the Eastern Question, so far as European Turkey is concerned, in the general interest—*when all the Great Powers have come to the conclusion that the state of things in that country is otherwise utterly hopeless.* Events are moving so quickly that it may not be long before that point is reached; and I for one see no prospect of any settlement that promises sufficient advantage to the people of the Eastern Peninsula, or sufficient security to Europe, to justify anything that can properly be called coercion, except from the introduction into the Eastern Peninsula of fresh life by the well-considered co-operation of England, Russia, and the other Great Powers in creating a new power on the Bosphorus.

We all know the gigantic difficulties which stand in the way of such a settlement; but it is better, after all, willingly to face *difficulties*, however great, than to have to face *impossibilities*. A little foresight ten or even five years ago might have thrown over the decision of the questions of the Eastern Peninsula, in so far as they affect Europe at large, to another generation.

Will any one say the same now?

Does it not look as if we were coming near one of those moments—

“ When the dread Present, as on an abyss,
Splits, in two paths, the frowning precipice—
That to lost towers which tides already whelm;
This through dark gorges to an unknown realm.
Hard to decide! Here, how control the time?
There, how rekindle dust? Between the two,
At least choose quick. Life is the verb ‘To do!’ ”

[*The Nineteenth Century*, March 1877.]

TURKEY.

It is not England, it is the Mediterranean powers who are really interested in keeping things as they are, and enabling them to forget Russia, for practical purposes, in their naval calculations.

Things would have to be very much changed if, in a war between England and Russia, the catching in the Eastern Mediterranean of the Black Sea fleet were not the greatest possible delight to our countrymen. To have at last a set of ships which he could really sink or take, instead of seeing them, as in the last war, sunk by their own crews, would surely be very refreshing to the British tar if he once, which God forbid, were obliged to look upon his Russian brother as an enemy. The presence of the Russian fleet in the Eastern Mediterranean could only be inconvenient to us if Russia held Constantinople; even then, it would be far more inconvenient to other people. To us, it would merely mean that we should be obliged, I do not say actually, to seize Lower Egypt; but certainly to be able at any moment to do so, and perhaps to have a naval station and certain rights in Candia. That done, we, as far as our personal interests are concerned, might see the Czar replace the Sultan at Constantinople with most profound equanimity. We could easily make ourselves safe; but as long as other powers are willing to take their share in preventing Russia seizing Constantinople, so long it is our duty to take our part too.

[*The Nineteenth Century*, April 1877.]

REACTION OF OUR TURKISH POLICY ON INDIA, 1877.

Some say that we ought to support the Turk in Europe, because if we do not do so, we shall have to reckon with Mahomedan discontent in India. To that others reply that the Mahomedans of India care nothing about the Sultan.

Neither of these views is correct. It would not be worthy or wise for us to be influenced in our policy with respect to the Turkish Empire by any apprehensions about its effect on our Indian Mahomedan subjects; but it is not true that they *all* care nothing about the Sultan. It is idle to talk of the Indian Mahomedans as a whole. Scattered over that huge continent which we call India, there are some 40,000,000 Mahomedans who differ very widely amongst themselves. Some of them, I suspect, care a good deal about the Sultan, some of them care very little, and many of them neither know nor care; but there is reason to think that not only amongst Mahomedans in India, but even amongst Hindoos, you have to reckon with a certain sympathy for the Sultan,—the sympathy for the East against the West, for the Asiatic against the European, the inheritance of a long series of conflicts which go back to the very dawn of history, and in which the taking of Constantinople, aye, and even the expedition of Alexander the Great, are two comparatively modern incidents. I hold that we ought to do with respect to the Sultan precisely what we think is wise and just and right, wholly irrespective of the influence our action may have upon Mahomedans in India. If we are to be governed in our European politics by the sentiments of our Asiatic subjects, it is not they but we who are the conquered Do not understand me, however, to say that I think there is no danger whatever of the excitement that is at present felt through the Mahomedan world being dangerous to us. All such excitement should be avoided, if possible. The excitement of the Mahomedan world during the Crimean war was one of the many concurring causes which led to the Indian mutiny, but remember that in the Crimean war we were *with*, not *against*, the Sultan.

[*At Elgin, October 10th, 1877.*]

MR. LAYARD.

I am sorry to observe the conduct of Mr. Layard criticised more severely in some quarters than seems quite fair. It may be permitted to me to call attention to this, for I never agreed with Mr. Layard about Turkish affairs when we sat in the House of Commons together; and I have no doubt that he still thinks many of my notions about them to be very erroneous. But if Mr. Layard was to go to Constantinople at all, what could he do but represent the ideas with which he is identified? He could not be expected to turn his back upon his past. If any one is to be blamed, it is the Government that sent him. And I much doubt whether the Government is to be blamed. Whom were they to send? There was a talk of their sending Mr. Morier. Well, Mr. Morier is a man of the highest ability, and a man with whose views on all those questions of European politics, with which he has had to deal, I most strongly sympathise; but Mr. Morier has never been in the East. I am heartily glad he was not sent to a place where his knowledge and ability would have been useless, and where he might easily have become discredited. The situation of an English ambassador at Constantinople at present is not difficult; it is impossible. We see from his despatches the view Mr. Layard takes of Turkish affairs. We do not see what he says to the Porte. I laughed heartily when a Turkish Minister spoke of his appointment as a 'delicate attention.' Save me from such 'delicate attentions,' as having so masterful a personage sent to admonish me in private, although he might defend me in public. I think Lord Derby, when he selected Mr. Layard, must have thought of the story of the American who had the reputation of being the most efficient swearer in the Western States. Some one was being complimented on his great power in that line, when he modestly replied, "Oh, I can do nothing;

you should hear so-and-so. He is the man to *exhort the impenitent mule.*" I have no doubt that the impenitent mule gets a great deal more exhortation from Mr. Layard than he likes, or than any one, not known to be a friend, could possibly give without receiving his passports. Of one thing I am sure, that, if any attempts are made by our Government to obtain peace, they will be seconded by Mr. Layard with all his might. And, obviously, to both Turkey and Russia peace is of immense importance.

[*At Elgin, October 10th, 1877.*]

THE VOTE OF SIX MILLIONS.

What, then, is now their leading idea? I do not ask for details, but our constituents, who pay the greatly increased taxation, which their policy or want of a policy has rendered necessary, have a right to ask for some sort of general notion as to the objects for which their money is to be expended. What, in short, are they driving at? Do they think that the prosperity of South-Eastern Europe can be assured by leaving all its provinces or any of them under the Turks? If they do, I reply that it is too late. There was a time when, by a wise application of diplomatic pressure, that might have been done; but that time has gone by for ever, and the curse of history lies at the door of those whose negligence omitted to apply that pressure, and brought upon the world the horrors we have been witnessing. I would not, for a moment, imagine that the Government had any such idea if it were not for some unlucky expressions in the despatch. We read, for instance, "Large changes may, and no doubt will, be requisite in the treaties by which South-Eastern Europe has hitherto been ruled." Large changes! I should think so! Has the writer been spending the last two years in the cave of the Seven Sleepers?

“Totius rei fontem atque caput ignorat,”

one is almost inclined to say. He and his colleagues have stood by while the Ottoman Empire in Europe has been mortally wounded, and they do not seem even to have found it out. It is no question now of a sick man, whose health is to be watched, and whose heritage is to be kept for his natural heirs. We have to deal with a man at the last gasp in whose house those who are not his natural heirs have got a footing, from which it will be very difficult to dislodge them. If the policy of Her Majesty's Government is to try to give a good government and freedom under the Porte to these provinces, it seems to me that they are possessed with the wildest dream that ever misled statesmen. Or, if that is not their idea, is it to enlarge Greece and try to recreate in that way the Eastern Empire? I should hope not. That idea has had its advocates of late amongst English politicians, but it seems to me an altogether mistaken one. I should much like to see Greece increased by the addition to it of any purely Greek districts upon the mainland, which are conterminous with it, as well as by Crete and a number of the other islands; but my notion of the future of Greece would be that it should listen, as did Greece of old, as much as possible, to “those two old voices of Liberty,—the voice of the Mountains and the voice of the Sea;” that it should remember, as much as possible, its pre-Roman, not its post-Roman, day; that its dream should be of resuscitating Athens, not of reconquering Byzantium. If it is attempted to set up Greece against Slavonia in the Balkan Peninsula, that attempt will perish and come to nought.

[*In the House of Commons, April 1878.*]

THE BERLIN TREATY.

Then, again, as to the Greeks. What has been done, or proposed to be done, has stimulated their appetite, and further

excited their ambition without giving their wise aspirations any reasonable satisfaction? Nay, so far as anything has been done, they have been led upon a wrong road. They have been incited to think rather of advancing in the direction of Macedonia and Thrace than of making themselves strong on the coasts and on the islands. Greece is not like Antaeus. Her forces are revived, not by touching the earth, but by touching the water. If, from some fantastic notion of using her as a barrier against the advance of Pan Slavism, we encourage her to think that she has a great future on the mainland, we do her a cruel wrong. We engage her in the same struggle in which Denmark, in an evil hour, engaged with her great neighbour. I for one heartily hated the Treaty of San Stefano; but what Her Majesty's Government has brought us from Berlin is the Treaty of San Stefano disguised, not the Treaty of San Stefano altered. The essential feature of the Treaty of San Stefano was the breaking up of Turkey in Europe, without putting anything that could live with its own life in the place of that effete organisation, and without settling the question of Constantinople, which remains a standing menace to the peace of Europe. That, however, would be a perfectly accurate description of the Berlin Treaty. There are differences between the two, but the differences are made merely to gull simples. They are razors good to sell,—bad to cut. Of two things one,—either we should have held to the policy of 1856, and tried to keep the sick man on his legs till his natural heirs could have got their full rights in the Balkan Peninsula; or we should have taken our part in putting in his place a Western Prince as the Duke of Wellington long ago advised. We took neither course, and our sons, who will see the question of Constantinople opened again, will hardly thank us.

[*In the House of Commons, July 1878.*]

THE ANGLO-TURKISH CONVENTION.

Our constitution is good for nothing, if it is permitted to Ministers, without the consent of Parliament, not merely to conclude an ordinary or even extraordinary treaty without Parliament being consulted, but to utterly revolutionise the whole policy of the empire. That is what this Convention does, if it does anything at all, and is not a mere deliberate deceit practised on Turkey, on England, and on Europe. The constitution says, no doubt, that the nation is, in this respect, at the absolute disposition of the Crown, which is another phrase for the Ministers of the day ; but the Ministers of the day should remember that complimentary and courteous expressions must not be interpreted all too literally. When a Spaniard or an Italian tells you that his house and all it contains are at your disposal, you may safely understand that he means to be very civil and hospitable, but you must not understand him to mean that he actually transfers his property to you. If you do, it may fare with you as it did with the late Prince Metternich. That statesman being in Rome and in the House of Torlonia, expressed great admiration for an extremely valuable picture which belonged to his host ; Torlonia with the courteous instincts of his country, immediately begged him to consider it as his. Metternich, acting with as little discretion as the present Cabinet, took him at his word, and Torlonia revenged himself by telling the story to the day of his death, with the epilogue, '*Et le coquin l'a pris.*' I am afraid the word which he used was rather stronger than *coquin*, and very like it. Well, Sir, the constitution being an impersonal creature, will not be able to tell the story to the disadvantage of those who have treated it so badly ; but the constitutional historian will do that for it, and we may be very sure that when he tells the story of the too liberal interpretation which has been put on

its provisions, he will end it with an epilogue at least as severe, if not quite so bitterly expressed, as the '*Et le coquin l'a pris*' of the plundered Italian. Ministers who try to strain the prerogative should remember that the violence of the 16th of May was followed by the humiliation of the 14th of December, even if their studies in French history do not go further back and bring with them more formidable recollections.

[*In the House of Commons, July 1878.*]

ECHOES OF THE LATE DEBATE, 1878.

'Away with this talk!' retorted their opponents, speaking by the mouth of the once cautious and commercial Northcote; you make the same mistake as did the Athenian peace party in the days of Philip of Macedon:

"What was the state of Greece at that time? Its great military power was for the time paralysed and weakened. The maritime power of Athens was divided by parties in her bosom. She had a small war party, but a large peace party. The latter were men whose views were honorable, no doubt, but of such a character that they shrank from plunging the country into war and interrupting commercial pursuit, in order to check the growing and advancing ambition of their great northern neighbour. What happens after that? Philip took one point after another, and then he made himself champion of the great Congress, as it were, of Greece, until at last the Athenians found that they were completely out-generaled and defeated, and that they and their liberties were at the mercy of the conqueror.

"You, Liberals, attach great importance to the authority of Mr. Grote, the champion in former days of the Ballot in this House. What did Mr. Grote say about that matter?

"He said that the Athenians doubtless had many infirmities

and committed many errors ; but the worst error of all during the years 363-336 was their aversion to the pecuniary efforts required for prosecuting the war against Philip. Then the historian went on to say : ‘Of the peace party there were doubtless some who acted corruptly, but many others of them, without any taint of personal corruption, espoused the same policy more because they found it easier for the time to administer the city under peace than war, because war was burdensome and disagreeable to them as well as to their fellow-citizens, and because they either did not or would not look forward to the consequences of inaction.’ We think the history of that time,—and there are other parallel points which honorable gentlemen may discover for themselves,—ought not to be lost sight of in the present case.”

These observations were made too near the end of the debate to enable the opposite party to make the obvious rejoinder ; “you find a parallel to our conduct in the doings of the peace party at Athens in the days of Philip of Macedon. We find a much closer parallel to yours in the acts of those who brought about the feverish state of Athens at a somewhat earlier period :

“ While the words of Alcibiades yet echoed wide and far,
 ‘ Where are corn-fields, and are olive-grounds, the Athenian’s
 limits are ;’
 And in each trireme was many a dream of the West, and its
 unknown bliss,
 Of the maidens of Iberia and the feasts of Sybaris.”

That is the historical parallel that occurs to us, and then we go on to think of that terrible last scene in the Great Harbour of Syracuse, in describing which Mr. Grote, whose strong point was assuredly not eloquence, becomes almost eloquent, in sympathy with the deep pathos, the condensed and burning phrases of his great original. ”

[*The Nineteenth Century*, September 1878.]

GREECE IN 1881.

Greece has once more to thank the enthusiasm which her great past has excited in Western Europe for a political advantage. May she use better than in the last fifty years the great opportunity that has been given her.

[*At Banff, September 1881.*]

EGYPT.

There is probably hardly anything short of a direct aggression on British territory, which would so certainly force Great Britain out of the pacific attitude, which she would fain eternally preserve, than any attempt to interfere with the absolute freedom of transit from Alexandria to Suez. It is, indeed, at least for the present, a matter of vital importance to us; nor, although the successful prosecution of the long-agitated scheme for running a railway down the Euphrates Valley would doubtless make us less dependent on the Egyptian route, is it possible to look forward to a time when we could see with equanimity any attempt to tamper with the freedom of this great line of communication between the West and the East.

[*A Political Survey, December 1868.*]

PERSIA IN 1868.

In the earlier part of this century, our Government bestowed at least as much attention on Persia as it deserved, whence arose, not only a large amount of expenditure, but a very considerable amount of knowledge with regard to that country, especially in the Indian services. Of late, the current has set in a different direction, and if we once took too much trouble with the Court of Tehran, we now, perhaps, take too little. The grounds of this carelessness are quite intelligible.

We speak with irritation of Turkish barbarism, but Persian barbarism is far worse; and the mixture of 'fecklessness' and frivolity with blood and violence is naturally very irritating to Englishmen. Still, however natural our irritation may be, it is probably not for the interest either of Persia or of ourselves to give way to it, and the best way to avoid doing so is to think of Persia, not as in the same category with Egypt or Turkey, but rather as belonging to the same class of powers with which we have, from time to time, been brought in contact since we first began to extend our conquests in India. [A Political Survey, December 1868.]

JAPAN.

JAPAN IN 1868.

The views of those who think that our whole Japanese policy has been a mistake, and that we had no right whatever to exert any sort of pressure upon the Government of that empire, find clear expression in an essay in the volume called *International Policy*, in which our doings in foreign countries, and in our own colonies, are criticised from the Positivist point of view. I cannot at all agree with the sentiments of the writer of that paper. All violence in international concerns is, of course, to be deprecated; but I wish there were no worse stains on our national flag than those which it has received in Japan. Doubtless we are very far, indeed, from having seen the end of the troubles, which its contact with foreigners will incidentally bring to the "land of the rising sun;" but the Japanese had reached a point of their national development, which they were not likely to pass without an impulse from the outer world. Their civilisation, admirable in many respects, was becoming, so to speak, hide-bound, and

it is very unlikely that any price which they will have to pay in the way of civil commotion will be at all too dear; if so be that, it buys them initiation into the ideas and knowledge of the West. Nothing is further from my intention than to speak slightly of the results which they have already obtained from the natural evolution of their own ideas. The West will try to force evil as well as good upon them, but, upon the whole, the balance of advantage will be largely on their side.

[*A Political Survey, December 1868.*]

AMERICA.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

It is sometimes imagined that the so-called Monroe doctrine will, when the United States are strong enough, induce them to attempt to oust us from the American continent. This is altogether a misconception. The Monroe doctrine, or, as it might be with equal propriety called, the Canning doctrine, is to be found in two passages of a message sent by President Monroe to Congress at the opening of the first session after the negotiations between Mr. Rush, the American Minister, and Mr. Canning, with respect to the recognition of the independent Republics, which rose on the overthrow of the Spanish power in the New World,—negotiations during which Mr. Canning pressed upon the Washington Government, with the utmost earnestness, the course which that Government afterwards took. The first of these passages runs as follows:—

“We owe it, therefore, to candour and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those Powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere, as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European Power, we have not inter-

ferred, and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence, and maintained it, and whose independence we have on great consideration, and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European Power, in any other light than as a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."

The second passage refers to a negotiation with Russia relative to the boundaries of the two Powers on the north-western shores of the continent :

"In the discussion to which this has given rise, the occasion has been judged proper for asserting, as a principle, in which the rights of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonisation by any European power."

The Monroe doctrine has, then, you will observe, no bearing upon our position in North America. As little has it any upon that of Spain in the island of Cuba. It was not in obedience to the Monroe doctrine that filibusters from American harbours attacked that island. No one, however, who has read Alexander von Humboldt's remarkable essay on Cuba, will wonder that they should have attacked it. "It would indeed," as I have said elsewhere, "be a most convenient possession."

"Not only is it the most important of the Antilles, half as large again as Hayti, and nearly equal in extent to England, without Wales; not only are its havens commodious, its soil fertile, and its population free from some of the worst faults of the inhabitants of old Spain; but all these great advantages are thrown into the shade by its unrivalled position. Havanna is, in some sort, at once the Cadiz, the Corinth, and

the Constantinople of the West. A fleet issuing from its harbour, 'built in part of the Cedar and Mahogany of Cuba,' may close the double straits of the Mexican Gulf, both where the great oceanic current rushes in between Cape San Antonio and Yucatan, and where it sweeps forth as the Gulf Stream. 'Just so,' in the words of Humboldt, 'did the Armadas which sailed from Cadiz hold the dominion of the ocean near the Columns of Hercules.'

"If Constantinople has justly seemed to the Czars the key of their house, not less reasonably may the Havanna appear an indispensable adjunct to the dwellers in the Valley of the Mississippi. A European Power more strong than Spain would be able at any moment, if in possession of Cuba, to interrupt the vast commerce which finds its outlet at New Orleans, and to stop the already great and increasing traffic which passes over the several lines of isthmus transit between the Atlantic States and California. In a strategical point of view also, the Havanna is of great importance. The British fleet, after the battle of New Orleans, returned thither with the army on board. Had Cuba been one of the States of the Union, this would, of course, have been impossible, and the expedition would have found no rallying place nearer than Jamaica."

It is obvious, however, that Cuba would, at the present crisis of North American history, be a less desirable acquisition to the American Union than she would have been when these words were written twelve years ago, or than she well may be a decade or two hence.

The time may come when Spain will be anxious to sell, and the United States will do well in desiring to possess, the Queen of the Antilles. Readers of M. Garrido's book on Spain will see that there are Spaniards who take the same view of the Spanish that Mr. Goldwin Smith takes of the English colonial empire. Considering the history of Spain's

relation to her colonies, it is strange that that school of politicians should not be more numerous than it is.

Mr. Canning, in one of the most memorable speeches delivered in Parliament during the course of this century, said: "I resolved that if France have Spain, it should not be Spain with the Indies." If we now wished any evil to France, which, thank God, we do not, we should wish her just such a millstone about her neck as those same Spanish Indies. A great German writer once said that "the resistance of the United Provinces to Spain had exhausted the treasures of the golden Peru." Those were true words; but in another, an equally true, and a far more terrible sense, the golden Peru exhausted the treasures of Spain. The conqueror took from the conquered silver and gold, the spoils of the palace and of the mine; but the conquered took from the conqueror the youth, the daring, and the energy which, if it had remained at home, would have broken the power of the King and of the Church, and have prevented Spain falling into that state of lethargy from which she has had in the last fifty years so many rude awakenings.

[*A Political Survey, December 1868.*]

THE UNITED STATES AND RUSSIA.

The relations of the United States and Russia are, for the most part, a matter of sentiment,—and of somewhat foolish, half-informed sentiment. The immediate cause of this sentiment was partly the near coincidence in point of time of the Russian emancipation of the serfs, and the commencement of the war against slavery, and partly the judicious policy of Russia, which has long been winning golden opinions in the United States by all kinds of courtesy to a power which could not be its rival, and might one day be its ally. It is true also that there are certain superficial resemblances between the two countries which are quite sufficient to make

them look at each other with some friendliness. Above all, they are both, in a certain sense, young. The one, indeed, has, as Herzen says,* "been a thousand years on the earth, and two centuries imitating other nations," while the Americans have only the two imitative centuries behind them. Still, in the vast unoccupied spaces, in the great forests, huge rivers, but still more in that disposition of the popular mind which leads it to look towards the future rather than towards the past, there is, so to speak, a kind of parallelism. It is, however, nothing more than a parallelism; and one can well understand the irritation with which a writer in a recent number of the *Nation* sat down to combat, with even too much zeal, the craze of his countrymen about the empire of the Czar.

THE IRISH IN AMERICA.

Nor must it be forgotten that American politicians, while using the Irish, see through them, and have not that intense admiration for them and their ways which sits so gracefully on the honorable member for Cork.† The vast majority of the Irish went in the late election with the Democratic candidates; but here is an extract from a speech made by General Blair at St. Louis in 1866, which shows in what estimation he at least held his enthusiastic Celtic friends:—

"Gentlemen,—I am with you heart and soul, and heartily say, 'God bless the Finnegans.' [A voice—'Fenians, General.'] I know what I am talking about, and I say *Finnegans*. [Laughter and confusion.] And I say that I hope

* Herzen quotes and applies to Russia the words of Goethe about America—

"Dich stört nicht im Innern
Zu lebendiger Zeit
Unnützes Erinnern
Vergeblicher Streit."

† Mr. Maguire.

to see the cause flourish and prosper, and shall bless the day when Ireland is governed by Irishmen. In accomplishing this laudable undertaking, I will do all I can to assist you. I will place myself, if needs be, at your head, march with you to Staten Island, oversee your embarkation, will stand on the most elevated bluff of the coast, and, as you raise the green emblem over the stars and stripes, while your steamers, under full headway, are turning their prows to the East, I will say, *Good-bye*, God bless you, and may you be successful in your undertaking. May you lift the British lion out of his boots, and wrest from his grasp the emerald gem of the sea ; but whether or not you shall succeed in this endeavour, *may you each and all remain in Ireland or elsewhere, and never again set foot upon these shores ! You are wanted there, and we can get along without you !*"

Speaking seriously, however, the Irish danger in the further West, although serious enough, may be easily exaggerated, provided, that is to say, the Liberal party are now at length able to shape the Irish policy of the British Government according to their tenets. If that is not to be,—if the Tory minority in the Parliament about to be elected is sufficiently large to fight inch by inch, and to prevent us as long as possible from doing justice,—if year by year more disaffected emigrants sail for America,—and if despair of obtaining any relief through Parliamentary action increases in Ireland,—we shall no doubt have trouble and bloodshed on both sides of the Atlantic.

[*A Political Survey, December 1868.*]

THE UNITED STATES IN 1881.

The United States, which has just learnt that the spirit of lawless violence is as dangerous to Republics as to Monarchies, advances with extraordinary rapidity, her splendid

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resources enabling her to bear up even against the curse of protection, which has already cost her more than her great war. Nothing but a steady devotion on our part to those pursuits for which an old country situated like ours has natural advantages, under the guidance of a series of enlightened and reforming administrations, will prevent our being distanced by her, even in the lifetime of those who are listening to me. [At Banff, Sept. 1881.]

THE MEXICAN EMPIRE.

That whole affair, from the expedition of Gutierrez de Estrada in quest of that panacea for the woes of his country—a European prince—has been one of the strangest which even our eventful age has witnessed. It has contained every element which can attract attention: from the depths of comedy to the heights of tragedy; from the infinite rascalities of the Jecker bonds and the doings of the “Brethren of the Tuileries” to the execution of the descendant of so many emperors and kings. The story of Maximilian will soon pass into the domain of the novelist and the poet; and surely the figure of the unhappy Empress, leaving Brussels silent and unmoved, firm in her stoical composure, while her husband cried like a child, will take its place in the gallery of human sorrow in the same line as the familiar pictures of Mary Queen of Scots and Marie Antoinette.

[At Peterhead, Dec. 19th, 1867.]

CENTRAL AMERICA.

There are not many peoples of Latin America for whom, now that the danger from the Southern States has passed away, I should be inclined to augur a happier future, even if nature had given them no exceptional advantage in the struggle for wealth and prosperity.

They have, however, such an exceptional advantage. They stand to the great oceanic spaces in the same relation as the territory of Corinth did to the eastern and western basins of the Mediterranean. No sooner had it been fairly proved that America was not the much longed for Indies than one adventurer after another began to dream of, and search for, a strait to lead to the lands of spice and gold. Charles V. wrote to Cortes in Mexico to discover the "secret of the strait," and the great warrior wrote back to say that the secret should be discovered "if strait indeed there were." Time passed, and mankind learned at last that the American continent was continuous, and that if it wanted a strait, it must make one for itself. The communication by water between the Atlantic and Pacific has remained up to our own days a hope and a project. Surely, however, it is reserved for our generation to accomplish this great undertaking. There was a time when every isthmus was looked upon as a friend. It was a bridge for migrations. It was a hyphen connecting different races. Now, however, the needs of the world have changed, and those who sail round the Cape of Good Hope or the Horn will be apt to take a hint from a French writer on this subject, and paraphrasing Chamfort's terrible saying, cry "War to the Isthmus and peace to the Strait!"

[*A Political Survey, December 1868.*]

SOUTH AMERICA.

Review and Conclusion.

With the politically storm-tossed, and alas! so lately earthquake-tossed Republic of Ecuador, our long journey comes to an end.

Now, then, that you have followed me through these disturbed communities, what shall we say about them as a whole? Is it true, as Mr. Calvo would have us believe, that

they are progressing with the most astonishing rapidity, and that all is for the best in the best of all possible continents ? Is it true, on the other hand, as too many fancy, that South America is inhabited by a race of mongrel barbarians who are rapidly going back into savagery ? I think not. My opinion is, and I think yours will be, that there are germs in South America of something far better than we have yet seen in that part of the world. The era of revolutions is not yet closed. It well may be, for example, that the struggle between Brazil and the Spanish-speaking peoples may continue even after Portugal and Spain are united in the Iberian union of the future. It well may be that the dissimilar interests of Northern and Southern Brazil may break that great empire into at least two parts. It may be that Paraguay will be absorbed by Brazil, and become a South American Poland. It may be that, more fortunate, she will only have the fate that Rosas intended for her, and become a part of the Argentine Confederation ; or again the Argentine Confederation may itself break up, and part of it become grouped round Paraguay. There is no end to the possible permutations and combinations on which one can speculate ; but through them all, I seem to see the probability of an often interrupted, but, on the whole, continuous advance in prosperity. I believe that the project of Bolivar for a Latino-American union was not chimerical, only premature. I do not believe it will ever be the interest of the United States, now that slavery is at an end, to menace the independence of South America. I expect that the commerce of those countries will increase with great rapidity ; that the advance of science will make many districts healthy which are present dangerous ; that a new and higher form of faith, worked out in Europe, will gradually supersede the singularly low type of superstition, which now prevails through the whole of the country. I believe that negro slavery will disappear from

Brazil, and Indian serfage come to an end throughout the continent. Nowhere has so much progress been made towards the fusion of races. These Paraguayans, who have been fighting so well, are at least as much Indians as Spaniards. I believe that South American morality, which is, as a general rule, low, will be gradually raised. Even now, as readers of Mr. Bates's book will remember, it varies very much in different parts, even of the same country. After all, we must not forget that in some respects these communities are in advance of many older societies. Political liberty and complete freedom of the press are very general, and though they do not make up for the absence of other things, yet they are surely not to be despised. There is considerable and increasing intellectual life, both amongst the volatile Parisian people of Lima, and the graver inhabitants of Chile. Mitre, the late President of Buenos Ayres, is a poet; Sarmiento, who has succeeded him, is a man of letters*; and Brazil can already show a tolerable list of contributions to Portuguese literature. Finally, then, I consider that, although for some time to come, it will be chiefly the commercial advices from those countries which will be interesting to the English politician, a time will nevertheless arrive when they will have to be reckoned with by European States as important and useful members of the family of nations, as *Ebenbürtig* with themselves. To help them on in every way, to hold out to them the right hand of fellowship, to show by our acts that the charges which they bring against us are, to a great extent, the offspring of an excited imagination, I hold to be the imperative duty of every English public man who is brought into connection with them.

If anything that I have said to-night shall lead any persons to think more kindly of them, or to feel even a

* See the biographical sketch of him by Mrs. Horace Mann in *Life in the Argentine Republic*.

glimmering of interest in their struggles, I am sure that I shall not have misspent the time which I have expended on the preparation of this address.

[*A Political Survey, December 1868.*]

MISCELLANEOUS.

NATIONALITIES.

But to return to the question of nationalities. I agree with their partisans in believing that Europe will gradually be re-arranged according to natural affinities, which will override mere arbitrary arrangements made either for the advantage of particular dynasties, or for the maintenance of the balance of power; but I have never been able to take the next step, and to say, with the large and powerful party which has brought about nearly all the recent great changes in Europe, "This doctrine of nationalities is a sort of gospel." I quite admit that, "nothing is more natural than that those who resemble each other should wish to assemble together;" but the accidents of our history have made me, like most men in this country, think so much more of being well governed than of being governed by men of my own race, that I watched the raising of question after question of this sort with great regret. Of what avail, however, is it to regret that things should take their inevitable course? I can quite understand any one being impatient with the advocates of nationality; but when we realise the fact that the extraordinary events which we have witnessed in Italy may, humanly speaking, be traced to the fact of the conviction of this idea of nationality being the great want of the time, coming into the mind of a mere boy when a prisoner in the

fortress of Savona,—I allude of course to Mazzini,—I think that, whatever may be the duties of continental statesmen with regard to each of these questions as they arise, we in England should take extremely good care that no feelings of favour or dislike towards one party or the other should induce us either to oppose or to precipitate any of the natural disruptions or reconstructions which are taking place, or are about to take place, upon the Continent. We have work enough in our hands, as I ventured to say on a former occasion, without attempting to galvanise dead nations, or to prevent new ones rising into life.

[*At Elgin, Oct. 27th, 1864.*]

DUTIES ENTAILED BY OUR COSMOPOLITAN POSITION.

So far from believing that an English politician can shape his course aright by confining his views to the narrow limits of this island, I believe that our cosmopolitan position necessitates a cosmopolitan range of vision. So wide-reaching are the ties and interests of this country, that no one has a right to aspire to be listened to by it in the gravest questions of imperial policy who does not, while anxiously watching the currents of home opinion, keep his eyes and his ears open to the state of opinion both in Europe and America. This necessity is laid upon us by the logic of facts; we cannot escape from it if we would. If ever it again becomes possible for an intelligent foreign statesman to write about the ignorance of English statesmen on a European question of first-rate magnitude, with the calm and kindly, but measureless, contempt with which Bunsen wrote in 1848, such English statesmen will deserve nothing short of the re-erection of the scaffold on Tower Hill.

[*At Elgin, Oct. 21st, 1868.*]

1857 TO 1868.

These eleven years have been filled up with momentous events, and will occupy a far greater space on the canvas of history, than many a placid and unfruitful century. Eleven years ago, Italy was still groaning under the Dukes and the Bourbons. Spain had just slipped back into the position that she occupied before the Liberal movement of 1854. Serfage still lay like a black cloud over European Russia; and men were still speculating timidly and doubtfully as to the possible abolition of slavery, at some far-off and millennial period in the United States of North America. The German Diet, "the contradiction of thirty-five wills," still droned on at Frankfort, weaving one Thursday, to unweave the next, its everlasting Penelope's web. Hungary was still brooding in gloomy isolation over the blood of 1849 and the heaped-up wrongs of generations; while Austria, crushed by the combined weight of military and priestly despotism, was still, in the words of her great political poet, asking with bated breath "the freedom to be free." These are but a few of the ancient injustices and venerable impostures which the year 1857 left still standing when he breathed his last, and of which we may now happily say "gone is gone, dead is dead."

[*At Elgin, Oct. 21st, 1868.*]

NON-INTERVENTION.

Depend upon it, the non-intervention that comes of full knowledge is better than the non-intervention that comes of ignorance; nor must we forget that non-intervention is, after all, only the first half of the lesson which we have to learn, and that the greatest preacher of non-intervention whom England has seen will be longest and best remembered as her first "international man."

[*At Peterhead, Dec. 19th, 1867.*]

CONTEMPORARY STATESMEN.

Guizot was at best a stately failure. The ultimate success of Thiers must not blind us to the fact that his career, taken as a whole, was an evil to his country and to mankind. Palmerston will be remembered for some time with kindness, on account of his sympathy with constitutional government upon the continent of Europe, but his name, a generation hence, will be rarely mentioned. Peel had the terrible misfortune of being born in the wrong camp, and of necessarily incurring the hatred of those amongst whom he lived by all his best deeds. Cavour had to act under circumstances which obliged him to be unscrupulous, and lived only to see the beginning of the end. Louis Napoleon verified alike in his obscurity, in his triumph, and in his fall, the words of M. de Falloux : "Il ne sait pas la différence entre rêver et penser." Thorbecke, a great capacity far too little known beyond the limits of Holland, had no striking or dramatic, though much useful work, to do.

[*Preface to Memoir of Francis Deák, 1880.*]

A TYPICAL JINGO PROPOSITION.

Mr. Cowen then adds : "Bear in mind that such a leverage in the centre of two continents would not only have imperilled our empire in India but our authority in Europe." Here, again, we stumble over a metaphor. What, in the name of confusion, does a speaker mean when he tells you that if the Sultan had thrown himself into the arms of Russia, "a leverage would have been created in the centre of two continents, which would not only have imperilled our empire in India but our authority in Europe?" That is a typical jingo proposition; it is full of sound and fury, but it means just nothing; while as a literary effort, it almost rises to a level with two statements which I once heard made

by a very worthy man in the House of Commons, the first of which was, "Talk of this as a loan to India ! Why, Sir, it's a flea-bite in the ocean ;" and the second was, " Depend upon it, Sir, the pale face of the British soldier is the backbone of your Indian army."

[*Speech at Northallerton, February 23rd, 1880.*]

WARS FOR AN IDEA.

The *peace almost at any price* party, which comprises the vast majority of sensible men both in the Conservative and Liberal camps, only in so far disagrees with the "peace at any price" politicians, that it would by no means bind itself not to go to war for an idea, nor to get, as soon as good faith would permit, out of all treaty engagements which oblige us to go to war. With the members of this great party these questions resolve themselves into questions of "relative duties." It would be easy to imagine a case which in no way touched the interests of this country, in which it would be distinctly right for us to make war. But, then, it would have to be a case in which it was clear that our intervention would produce far more good than harm, and in which it would be morally certain that the misery which results from war would not be misery in waste. Happily such cases are very uncommon in actual affairs.

[*Foreign Policy, Macmillan, 1880.*]

NEUTRALITY OF ENGLAND.

A fussy anxiety to be interfering in the concerns of other people is as undignified as it is foolish, and proceeds not seldom from a secret doubt of our own strength. When foreign newspapers, trading upon the weakness of a section of our countrymen, try by taunts to engage Great Britain to

do the work which ought to be done by other members of the European State system who are more immediately concerned, it would show more confidence in the greatness of the empire if we were to remember two passages in the speeches of a Minister who was certainly not prone to distrust the powers either of himself or of his country.

"What," said Mr. Canning, "is it to become a maxim with this country that she is ever to be a belligerent? Is she never, under any possible state of circumstances, to remain neutral? If this proposition be good for anything, it must run to this extent,—that our position, insulated as it is from all the rest of the world, moves us so far from the scene of continental warfare, that we ought always to be belligerent,—that we are bound to counteract the designs of Providence, to reject the advantages of nature, and to render futile and erroneous the description of the poet, who has said to our honor, that we are less prone to war and tumult, on account of our happy situation, than the neighbouring nations that lie conterminous with one another." And again at Plymouth, "Our present repose is no more a proof of inability to act than the state of inertness and inactivity in which I have seen those mighty masses that float in the waters above your town is a proof that they are devoid of strength, and incapable of being fitted out for action. You well know, Gentlemen, how soon one of those stupendous masses, now reposing on their shadows in perfect stillness; how soon, upon any call of patriotism or of necessity, it would assume the likeness of an animated thing, instinct with life and motion; how soon it would ruffle, as it were, its swelling plumage; how quickly it would put forth all its beauty and its bravery, collect its scattered elements of strength, and awaken its dormant thunder. Such as is one of these magnificent machines when springing from inaction into a display of its might, such is England herself, while,

apparently passive and motionless, she silently concentrates the power to be put forth on an adequate occasion."

[*Foreign Policy, Macmillan, 1880.*]

SI VIS PACEM PARA BELLUM.

Is a sensible motto enough, if it means "do not trust too much to reason in a world in which there is a good deal of unreason;" but "*Si vis pacem paru pacem*" is a still better one, if it is understood to mean, "take care to have all your agencies for seeking and ensuing it in the foreground and in thoroughly good order, so as to give reason the best chance you can."

[*Foreign Policy, Macmillan, 1880.*]

A DICTUM OF WILLIAM III.

"Peace at any price" is an unmeaning phrase; but peace is nevertheless the first of British interests, and the supreme Navy, the adequate Army, and the first-rate diplomatic service, for which, I always plead, should be kept up mainly to secure that paramount British interest. Mr. Cowen may call the Liberals, who are more consequent than he, by the name of the Manchester school, or by any other name he pleases. He probably used that phrase because it has been popularly associated with the expression I have just alluded to,— "Peace at any price." Peace at any price is not, taken literally, the desire of any one, and is only the rather clumsy watch-word of a mere handful of politicians. The creed of the Liberal party in foreign affairs could not be put better than it was in the words of William III.,— surely not an advocate of peace at any price, or a member of the Manchester school,—which I have just quoted, and quote again to impress them on your memory: "The balance of power will always be held, so far

as any one State can pretend to do so, by the country which, in proportion to its powers, has economised its material resources to the highest point, and acquired the highest degree of moral ascendancy by an honest and consistent allegiance to the laws of morality in its domestic policy and in its foreign relations."

[*Speech at Northallerton, February 23rd, 1880.*]

THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE.

I think I have said enough to make out a good case for a friendly, but full, inquiry into the whole working of our diplomatic service,—an inquiry at least as large as that which lately took place with regard to the consular service. It is surely a strong argument in favor of this, to say that while there have been in the course of the last fifty years several inquiries into the consular service, there has never been, so far as I can learn, at any period of our history, a full inquiry by this House into our diplomatic service. The committee on official salaries discussed only a very small part of this great subject. Some tell me that any Government will be very unwilling to grant this inquiry. I really cannot see why it should. I do not accuse any Government of improper practices. To refuse inquiry is to excite suspicion. I do not say that the service is bad, but I desire to make it admirable.

[*House of Commons, June 1860.*]

THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE, 1860.

Prevention is better than cure, and many of the wars which desolate the world might be avoided by skilful diplomacy. Deeply impressed with the importance of that branch of the public service, when it was clear that the late member

for Stafford, Mr. Wise, was not likely again to be able to do anything in connection with it, I ventured to move late in the month of June for a Select Committee upon "the present state of the diplomatic service, and the best means of increasing its efficiency"—not, of course, at that advanced period of the session expecting to obtain a committee, but wishing to pave the way for a future move in the same direction. I am glad to say that I have succeeded in my object, the question having been taken up by Mr. Milnes, whose position as former chairman of the Consular Committee, makes him peculiarly calculated to address the House with authority upon all matters of this sort, and as whose lieutenant I am proud to act.

[*At Elgin, October 1st, 1860.*]

THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE, 1864.

You want your diplomatic service to be composed of a more uniformly good material; you want it to be composed exclusively of men of intellectual tastes and aptitude, and this you will never have till you force the Foreign Office to let it to be understood that the diplomatic service is one into which no young man is to be admitted who does not show that, in capacity and acquirement, he is up to the best of his contemporaries. It ought, in short, to be a service *d'élite*, in which the average standard of merit shall be that which is now reached by the best men in it,—men for whom every one who knows how much ability and how much zeal they bring to the discharge of their duties, has the most profound respect.

[*At Elgin, October 27th, 1864.*]

I should like to see the Foreign Office, and the two services which depend upon it, the Diplomatic and the Consular, used every day more and more as an instrument for receiving all the information that can be obtained with regard to the state

of foreign countries, and reflecting it in a strong and steady light all over the United Kingdom. Unquestionably our Foreign Office has done of late years much more in this way than it used to do ; but I am confident that greater encouragement might stimulate our existing consular and diplomatic servants to far greater exertions in procuring information.

[*At Elgin, October 21st, 1868.*]

FRENCH DIPLOMACY.

Is there any other lesson that we have to learn from the disasters of France ? Yes ; it was not only the collapse of the French Army that led to this catastrophe. If France had been well served by her diplomacy, the war with Germany would certainly not have been undertaken, but she was wretchedly served by her diplomacy. She was given to understand that there were strong sympathies for her in Germany, and that she might reckon on very considerable support in the South. Now many of her diplomatists in Germany may have been very clever men.* The Emperor told an English politician some years ago that he always sent his keenest and cleverest men to the German Courts ; but these keenest and cleverest men must have been, some of them, wholly unfit for their particular duties. It is an open secret that one of them, on whom the most fearful responsibility with respect to all this dreadful business rests, does not even know German ; and the most astonishing stories are told of the extent to which his ignorance exposed him to mystification and error.

Now, of course, nothing of this kind could happen in our diplomatic service. That service, indeed, has much improved in the last ten years ; but still I do not think that the extreme

* *E.g.*, Baron Stöckel whose admirable report appeared in the *Times* of the 7th April 1871. That such a document should have been disregarded by those to whom it was addressed is truly wonderful.

importance of getting the very best national eyes and ears, which it is possible to get, has sufficiently taken hold of the nation. When questions relating to the diplomatic service have come before the House of Commons of late years, there has been too great a tendency to discuss them, as if the great matter were to save a little money here and there, or to break down the supposed monopoly of a particular class. That is all very well. You can't have real efficiency without enlightened economy, and any appearance of monopoly naturally excites suspicion; but it is a great mistake to allow these quite secondary considerations to let us for a moment forget that what we want in our diplomatic service is supreme efficiency. We want every mission and every embassy to consist of the very best representatives of what is best in herself that England can possibly send. We want them all to be centres of English influence in the highest sense of that term, by which I mean something very different from what was understood by English influence in the days of intrigue and interference. I cheerfully acknowledge the improvements of the last decade; but still more care should, I think, be used in recruiting the service. This might be done in various ways. I myself proposed one plan to the Diplomatic Committee of 1861; but I am in no way wedded to that particular plan, and if once the principle is admitted that the diplomatic service should be a service *d'élite*, and that the mere fact of belonging to it should be a guarantee of high intellectual distinction, I do not much care how it is carried into effect.

Some people say that there is less need of a diplomatic service than there was. There is less room, thank Heaven, for active diplomatic agents,—those troublers of Israel in by-gone days,—but there is much more room for good national eyes and ears. Recent changes in Germany and Italy have made various posts unnecessary; but, even with a consoli-

dated Germany and a consolidated Italy, there is much to be said for having intelligent reporters attached to the Foreign Office, in several of the minor centres of German and Italian national life. Then, again, observe that while in some parts of Europe consolidation has been the order of the day, in others a precisely opposite tendency has manifested itself. In Austria, for example, half-a-dozen nations, which were three-quarters asleep when even I first knew the country, have awoken to full and extremely noisy national life. He must know uncommonly little about Austria who will venture to say that the Vienna embassy, however well manned, can keep the Foreign Office as well informed as it ought to be about all that goes on at Prague and at Cracow, at Lemberg, at Pesth, and at Agram. Well, now, if one thing is clearer than another, it is that one of the results of the great events of the last three months will be to make the position and future of Austria a matter of increasing and most anxious interest to the statesmen of the West. The Eastern Question will present itself in quite a new aspect when this storm is over, and, if English statesmen are to deal with it, as it ought to be dealt with, they ought to be thoroughly acquainted with all the political facts of Eastern Europe. Lord Strangford, a wise man, too early taken from us, pointed this out some time ago with regard to Turkey, where you have just as much need of ambulant eyes and ears,—intelligent reporters strictly prohibited from meddling,—as you have in Austria.

[*At Elgin, November 15th, 1870.*]

THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE.

Nothing seems more natural now than that an Englishman should wish for an incomparable Navy. Will the day ever come when it will seem not less natural that he should wish for a Diplomatic Service, having its ramifications in all

the ends of the earth, Argus-eyed to detect every opportunity of advancing the general weal, combining in itself all that is most solid in wisdom, mature in experience, brilliant in ability, graceful in culture; and last, not least (to borrow a happy phrase, which is attributed to one* of the not too numerous diplomatists who have properly appreciated their noble profession), organised as perfectly for the attainment of its ends as the Prussian Army or the Society of Jesus?

[*Introduction to Elgin Speeches*, 1860-1870, *April* 1871.]

THE FUTURE OF DIPLOMACY.

It has been sometimes imagined that the gradual democratising of Europe would be fatal to diplomacy, the most exclusive and aristocratic of professions. No one will continue to hold that opinion who looks below the surface at the realities of things. A great deal of the glitter and frippery, that were once associated with diplomacy, and made it the laughing-stock of serious men, has already fallen off it, and something more has still to fall; but the real importance of diplomacy is only beginning. More and more the diplomatist will think of himself, not merely as the representative of his sovereign, out of whose personal income the English diplomatist used, till recent times, to be paid, but as the representative of the whole nation, from the sovereign downwards. More and more will he recognise himself to be the expression of what ought to be, and, in spite of occasional jingo outbreaks, is with every decade becoming more and more the prevailing feeling of this country in its relations at least with civilised States, "Peace on earth and good will towards men." More and more will he recognise that his is, indeed, the highest of all the services, that the army and navy are merely the necessary and honoured instruments which the

* Viscount Amphilh.

nation keeps in reserve, with which to meet unreason, if he who is the representative of reason shall unfortunately fail.

[*Foreign Policy, Macmillan, 1880.*]

Diplomatists should not be quite so much "up in a balloon" as they often are. They will pardon the expression to one who has the sincerest admiration for their craft; and, indeed, all the best of them will admit that it is a real misfortune that they are not oftener enabled, without too great sacrifices, to come into contact with our home political life. They greatly need "*se retremper*" from time to time in its boisterous but health-bestowing currents. Leave should be more freely given and on easier terms for this purpose to those in the regular line; and there should be, if possible, more frequent exchanges from Parliamentary to diplomatic, and from diplomatic to Parliamentary activity. That a man should be at once a member of the House of Commons and a representative of his sovereign abroad, as was the case, for example, with Philip Stanhope, was no doubt an anomaly, but it was an anomaly which had its advantages.

[*Foreign Policy, Macmillan, 1880.*]

THE OFFICE OF FOREIGN SECRETARY.

The office of Foreign Secretary is by no means, in the opinion of some, the place in the Cabinet which requires the greatest amount of ability. Far more brain-power is required, it is said, to enable a man to contrive and carry through Parliament such a measure as the disestablishment of the Irish Church than would suffice to conduct well and wisely our international affairs for a long time. That may or may not be so, but pre-eminent amongst things indispensable for the successful conduct of these affairs are knowledge of facts, knowledge of men, the critical faculty, caution and common sense.

You could never make a good manager of foreign affairs out of a man in whose brain the craziest fancies were always running races; you could not, for example, have made a good Foreign Secretary out of the Emir Fakredeem.* “There is a combination,” said that individual, “which would entirely change the whole face of the world, and bring back empire to the East. . . . Nobody ever opened my mind like you; you will magnetise the Queen as you have magnetised me. Go back to England and arrange this. You see, gloss it over as they may, one thing is clear,—it is finished with England. Now, see a *coup d'état* that saves all. You must perform the Portuguese scheme on a great scale, quit a petty and exhausted position for a great and prolific empire. Let the Queen transfer the seat of her empire from London to Delhi. There she will find an immense empire ready made, a first-rate army, and a large revenue. I will take care of Syria and Asia Minor. The only way to manage the Afghans is by Persia and the Arabs. We will acknowledge the Empress of India as our sovereign, and secure for her the Levantine coast. If she like, she shall have Alexandria as she now has Malta,—it could be managed. Your Queen is young; she has an *avenir*. Aberdeen and Sir Peel will never give her this advice; their habits are formed. They are too old, too *rusés*. But, you see! the greatest empire that ever existed; besides which she gets rid of the embarrassment of her Chambers! And quite practicable, for the only difficult part,—the conquest of India which baffled Alexander,—is all done.”

But some one may say “*Quid ad rem?*” What has the Emir Fakredeem got to do with our Foreign Office? What has he got to do with it? Why, for the last two years the Emir Fakredeem has been Prime Minister and Director-General of all our affairs at home and abroad. Do we not

* For the history of this personage see *Tancred*.

see in the passage that I have just quoted at once Lord Beaconsfield's astounding influence at Court? the disproportionate importance which India,—in the hands of men, most of whom know nothing of India,—has lately obtained? the Delhi pageant, the Imperial title, the design on Syria which was frustrated by Lord Derby's resignation? the protectorate of Asia Minor? the distrust and dislike of Parliament and of hum-drum statesmen like the late Sir Robert Peel? to say nothing of the war on the North-Western frontier of India, and perhaps some further development of insanity which may be concealed under the phrase, "the only way to manage the Afghans is by Persia and the Arabs."

[*Foreign Policy, Macmillan 1880.*]

PART II.

INDIA.

THE CROWN AND THE COMPANY—LORD PALMERSTON'S
INDIA BILL.

At the commencement of my remarks, I referred to the debates which took place about the Union Treaty. It is strange to look back at them now, to compare the speech of Belhaven, which gained him so much honor, with the light words of Seafield, which gained him so much odium. The honorable member for Pontefract* echoed, I well know, the opinion of many of the cultivated men of London society when he spoke in terms of warm admiration of the concluding remarks in the speech of the honorable member for Huntingdon. Nevertheless, I am persuaded that the day will come, and come ere long, when the honorable member† will be remembered as the Belhaven of this debate. Our children, if not ourselves, will give up asking what the old Company did, and what the half-reformed Company did, and what the new Government did. Attention will be fixed on the one great continuous phenomenon of British ascendancy in the East. The next generation will cease to inquire what Board or what Council was served by our great Proconsuls, and their great Lieutenants—by Hastings, Bentinck, Elphinstone, and Frere. Men will only remember that they worked for England.

[*House of Commons, Feb. 15th, 1858.*]

* Mr. M. Milnes.

† Mr. Thomas Baring.

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT.

The most important Act of the year 1858 was, however, that which put an end to the East-India Company's political power. Somewhat too high hopes were built upon the direct effects of that measure by those who forgot, or did not know, how great the power of the Ministry of the day had long been in all Indian matters. The Act of 1858 did little more than simplify the course of business, make that patent to all the world, which was known to those who cared to look into the subject before (that India, to nearly all intents and purposes, was as much under the Government of the Cabinet and of Parliament as other parts of the Queen's dominions), and, above all, impart to the management of our greatest dependency that sort of energy and freshness that proverbially comes from changes which, even if not very great in themselves, are made in a right direction.

[*At Elgin, Dec. 10th, 1872.*]

INDIA—OUR GREATNESS IN ASIA IS NOT STRENGTH
IN EUROPE.

I have said that we are the greatest cosmopolitan power, but our very greatness in other continents is a source of weakness in this. I was talking a few months ago with a very intelligent native of India, who was trying to impress upon me how far from improbable it was that the military mutiny of 1857 would be outdone during the lifetime of the present generation by a great national uprising. "I watched," he said, "with deep interest to see whether you would become involved in the struggle between Denmark and Germany, and, believe me, that many thousand less friendly eyes, both of Hindoos and Muhammadans, were doing the same throughout your Eastern dominions. You think," he said, "that your railways and telegraphs have enormously increased your power in India, and so undoubtedly they have, but they have

also increased in a much greater degree the power of your enemies. As education advances amongst them, these railways and telegraphs will give them just what they wanted,—an unlimited power of combination. They will wait till you are engaged in a great struggle elsewhere, and then your necessity will be their opportunity. Henceforward, the object of every Asiatic statesman will be to foster the jealousies of the European powers.” “No doubt,” I replied to him, “it will, but forewarned is forearmed, and I hope European statesmen will do their best to diminish their jealousies, and to come to an understanding between themselves in Asia.”

[*At Elgin, Oct. 27th, 1864.*]

THE INDIA OFFICE.

The India Office is not a great department like the Treasury. It is the whole controlling government of an empire, with its own Treasury and its own War Office, dealing with interests not so large indeed as those with which the English departments deal, but larger than those which are managed by the corresponding departments at Vienna or Berlin.

[*House of Commons, Indian Financial Statement, Aug. 3rd, 1869.*]

ATTITUDE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS TO INDIA.

Nothing gives a more striking idea of the ease,—or ought I to say the heedlessness?—with which this great nation still, in spite of the poet, sustains “the too vast orb of its fate” than the fact that it so seldom takes the trouble to investigate, through this House, which is the reflection or concentration of itself, the progress of its affairs in the East, giving its confidence thoroughly to those who represent it here and in India, and only asking an account of their proceedings at distant intervals.

If the effect of this were that our affairs were neglected, and that our empire were slipping from us, such conduct might be properly represented as a base dereliction of duty ; but if our affairs are going from better to better, then perhaps it is only a sign that the instinct which taught us how to acquire, still teaches us how to keep our wonderful possession.

[*House of Commons, Indian Financial Statement, Aug. 3rd, 1869.*]

OUR POSITION IN INDIA.

There is a class of politicians, of whom Mr. Cobden may be taken as an example, who, waiving the national question of loss or gain, turn with impatience from all Indian subjects. They think that we had no right to conquer India, and that no good can come of it. And certainly, if the thing had to be done over again, and done with full knowledge of what was going to be done, the boldest statesman, who ever played "double or quits," would think twice before he committed his country to so tremendous a responsibility ; but the thing has not to be done over again. India is ours in virtue of the deeds of men long dead, and who only imperfectly foresaw the end of the mighty work in which they were engaged. The only question now is, "Being where and what we are, how are we to comport ourselves ?"

A teacher of our own day,* whose lessons have done not a little to break up the old order of Europe as settled at Vienna, starts from the principle that we should always think of our *duties*, never of our *rights*. Whatever may be the value of that maxim, considered as the enunciation of a political truth, good for all times and places, certainly in thinking about India this course is the wise one to follow.

[*At Elgin, Oct. 20th, 1869.*]

* Mazzini.

OUR CHIEF DUTIES IN INDIA.

. . . . To keep the peace among two hundred millions of men ;* to raise the material prosperity of the regions subject to our rule to a point which they could not possibly have attained while split up amongst countless petty rulers, even if all these petty rulers were as virtuous as that princess whom Sir John Malcolm described as goodness personified ; to pit the intelligence and science of the West against those terrible natural calamities which are the scourge of that portion of the earth's surface ; to curb rivers ; to cleanse towns ; to lead waters through the desert ; to make famines as rare as they have become in Europe ; to extend geographical and scientific research through every corner of India, and as occasion serves, through all those countries adjacent to India, for the exploration of which its rulers have facilities not shared by other men ; to raise the standard of justice and administration ; to impart all Western culture that can be expected to flourish on Indian soil ; to make a royal road for every inquirer who wishes to collect whatever of value to mankind at large has through countless ages been carved on stone or stamped on metal, or recorded in manuscripts, or handed down by tradition throughout Southern Asia ; to offer to the youth of Britain their choice of a variety of careers, by all which in return for good work done to the natives of India, which those natives of India cannot in the present stage of their history do for themselves, an early and honorable independence may be won, far more easily than in this country of over-crowded professions and fierce competition ; to increase the riches of the world by developing to the fullest possible extent the resources of one of its most favored portions, and to hold in no spirit of narrow monopoly, but

* I might have said two hundred and fifty, but this speech was made before we knew that the population of Bengal had been immensely underestimated.

from the mere necessity of the case, the keys of the gates by which the greater portion of that wealth flows out to bless mankind; to give to all other nations an example how a strong race should rule weaker ones: these are some of the principal objects which are within our reach, and towards the attainment of which we are steadily advancing.

[*At Elgin, Oct. 20th, 1869.*]

THE PAX BRITANNICA.

Is it a small thing to keep the peace among two hundred millions of men? Make every allowance for the shortcomings of our rule admitted or alleged, and yet how great a gain to the sum of human happiness does this one fact of peace represent! Just contrast the quiet of the last ten years with the turmoil and misery of the long period of decomposition that preceded the time when we became supreme. Take a scene from the second decade of this century: "It was towards the afternoon of a very sultry day; there was a dead calm, and no sound was heard except the rushing, the trampling, and neighing of the horses and the rumbling of the gun-wheels. The effect was heightened by seeing the peaceful peasantry flying from their work in the fields, the bullocks breaking from their yokes, the wild antelopes startled from sleep bounding off, and then turning for a moment to gaze on this tremendous inundation, which swept all before it, levelled the hedges and standing corn, and completely overwhelmed every ordinary barrier, as it moved."* Unhappily, it was not always that these "whirlwinds of cavalry" burst over bulwarks as well qualified to resist them as was the case on the day to which this passage alludes. Too often they burst over defenceless or half-defenceless provinces, and then the short history of what they did may be summed up in the words: "The land was a garden of Eden before them, and behind them a desolate wilderness." To that form of evil at

* History of the Mahrattas, Vol. III. p. 422.

least, while the British rule is undisputed, there is an end for ever.

[*At Elgin, Oct. 20th, 1869.*]

BLESSINGS OF BRITISH RULE.

It is the fashion of the hour to depreciate these blessings, but if our rule produced no one blessing to India but the blessing of peace, it would be splendidly beneficent. Remember that when not a few gentlemen now in this House were boys at school, the state of anarchy in India was such that one of the few British poets who have been inspired by India can make his hero, speaking of those times, say with perfect faithfulness to historical probability :

My father was an Afghan, and came from Candahar,
He rode with Nawab Ameer Khan in the old Mahratta War,
From the Deccan to the Himalay, five hundred of one clan,
They asked no leave of King or Chief, as they swept through Hindustan.

[*House of Commons, Indian Financial Statement, Aug. 6th, 1872.*]

CHANGES IMPENDING IN INDIA.

Material progress is the mother of moral progress, and it needs but little insight to see everywhere indications that the ideal of at least the upper and middle classes in India is sensibly rising. The civilisation of Europe is beginning not merely to varnish over the surface of Indian society, but to stir the Indian mind to its depths.

The two great branches of the Indo-European race, which parted before the dawning of history on the plateau of Central Asia, have met, rich with the contrasted experiences of I know not how many thousand years. The ancient and fruitful antagonism between East and West, which fills so large a part of human history, is renewed under changed conditions, to what strange issues who shall say ?

[*House of Commons, Indian Financial Statement, Aug. 3rd, 1869.*]

FORESTS.

Our forests yielded about £300,000 (£331,088),—a much smaller amount than they would have yielded if we had begun to attend carefully to them when we first grew strong in India. That, however, was not to have been expected. Forests always seem inexhaustible until they begin to be exhausted.

When history comes to number up the good deeds which Britain has done for India, she will not, I am sure, forget to record amongst them that,—not an hour too soon, indeed, but yet not too late,—she called in European science to check the destruction of the forests. No one who has not looked into this subject has the faintest idea how terrible have been the effects, over wide regions of the globe, of carelessness in keeping up a proper proportion of trees. Let any one, to whom this subject is new, turn to the remarkable work of the American Minister at Florence, Mr. Marsh, upon *Physical Geography as modified by Human action*, and he will shudder at the dangers which we have only just escaped. If our predecessors had known what we know, much of the enormous expense that we are now being put to with regard to irrigation would have been quite unnecessary. But the mistakes of former days are past praying for, and we can now only rejoice that free course has been given to Dr. Brandis and his subordinates; that the saving of the forest has been recognised as a great State necessity; that a regular Forest Department has been inaugurated, which will take to India the science of France and Germany, and that the good example of forest conservation set in British territory is beginning to spread into some of the Native States.

[*House of Commons, Indian Financial Statement, Aug. 3rd, 1869.*]

FORESTS.

In truth, however, as I showed last year, much more than mere pecuniary results are at stake. Climatic changes of a very dangerous kind were threatening, or, in some instances, had actually occurred, and the evils that had to be met were of a sort that could only be checked by the direct action of the Central Government. An Indian officer of very great distinction, writing to me a short time ago about the denudation of the North-West Provinces, illustrated that point extremely well. He said :

“ I feel rather horrified when I think of the acres of denudation that I had a hand in, when burning bricks for the Ganges canal works at Roorkee, but it was my business to burn bricks, and as cheap as I could ; it was the business of the railway establishment to get fuel as cheaply as they could (I think it is probable that, if I had been very hard up for lime, I would have burnt the Apollo). But it is only Government that can look to such large results as those affecting the future climate of the country.”

That strong central control we are at last, I hope, in a fair way of getting, and shall thus be able to save wide districts of India from the fate which has overtaken Greece, Algeria, and many other regions round the basin of the Mediterranean.

[*House of Commons, Indian Financial Statement, Aug. 5th, 1870.*]

OPIUM.

On the whole, after consulting the best authorities to whom I have had access, I have come to the conclusion that neither the importation of opium into China, nor the growth of the poppy in China, is an evil to that country to anything like the same degree that my honorable friend imagines, if, indeed, they are evils at all to that tea-drinking population.

No doubt too much money may be spent by the Chinese on opium, as too much money is unquestionably spent in this country on alcoholic liquors ; but as firmly as I believe that the moderate use of alcoholic liquors is harmless, not to say beneficial in the north of Europe, so firmly do I believe that the moderate use of opium is harmless, not to say beneficial through vast regions of China. Pushed to an excess, the use of alcohol produces terrible results which we all know too well ; pushed to an excess the use of opium brings results less familiar to us, but not less terrible. To the vast majority of Chinese opium-smokers, I am convinced that their favourite indulgence brings no more evil than does the moderate use of wine to persons in this country, and on the side of opium there is this great advantage,—that even its immoderate use does not tend to incite the opium-smoker to crime. Unlike the drunkard of Western Europe,—he is his own enemy, but he is dangerous to no one else. I confess I very much distrust the views of gentlemen who think that they, and the select company who share their opinions, are wiser than whole populations about matters relating to the daily lives and physical well-being of those populations. There is something in the *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*, however doubtfully it may have been applied. The taste for one or more of the powerful agents,—narcotic or stimulant,—which we are discussing to-night, is as widely spread as it is deeply seated in the human constitution ; and when the vegetarian abuses meat, or the total abstainer alcohol and opium, a good and sufficient answer seems to be, one which has been held a good and sufficient answer in graver matters,—“*securus judicat orbis terrarum.*”

There is but one point more to which I think I need allude, and it is this : The opium revenue still labors under the disadvantage of being supposed in many quarters to be levied on a commodity which is smuggled into China, but

that is not so. The trade is now a perfectly legal one under certain restrictions; and if a large party in China is hostile to the poppy, a large and apparently growing party is strongly in its favor. The stubborn plant has outlived the denunciations not only of Peking, but of the great enemy of Peking, the leader of that extraordinary insurrection which so lately wrapped China in blood and fire.* I think it will

* Few more curious books of its size have been published in our times than the little work of the Swedish missionary, Mr. Hamberg, called *The Chinese Rebel Chief*. It is curious from the light which it throws upon the astounding results that may be produced by the working of Hebrew, or quasi-Christian, phraseology upon a race which has grown up under other influences. It is curious from the numerous glimpses of humble life in China which it presents; but it is still more curious from the evidence which it affords, that the worthy man, who wrote it, had fully persuaded himself that the Taeping leader,—that compound of Attila and the veiled prophet of Khorassan,—was a genuine disciple of Him who spake the Sermon on the Mount.

Unlike the disturbances which are going on at present, the Taeping insurrection was, although it gathered into itself many discordant elements, really the work of a single mind. The Taeping leader, Hung-sew-tsuen, does not appear to have had any remarkable talents; on the contrary, having started in life as a would-be graduate, unable to take the degree which, in the country of competitive examinations, is the first step to official employment and political importance, he fell back upon keeping a village school. And seemed, in all respects, an inefficient "stickit-minister" sort of person. His disappointment, however, brought on illness, and illness brought strange visions, which, mingling with his brooding and revengeful thoughts, and colored by broken reflections of missionary teaching, developed in him peculiarities which, as has been most truly said, "defy analysis and even description." Much has been written about him, but nothing I think so good as the following remarks, which I take from *The Ever Victorious Army* :—

"From the hour when Hung arose from his sick-bed, after his first forty days' trance, and, poor and nameless, proclaimed his avatar by fixing on his door-post the proclamation: 'The noble principles of the Heavenly King, the Sovereign King Tsuen,' on through success and defeat and Imperial opposition up to the hour of his death at Nanking, when human flesh was selling in the market at so much per catty, he seems never to have wavered or abated one jot of his claim to supreme rule on earth. In ordinary times, it might have been that Hung-sew-tsuen would have found an ordinary place as an able mandarin, a village teacher, or a literary farmer of more than average power and eccentricity. He might have lived and died the admiration or the wonder of his neighbourhood, but unknown beyond the Hwa district where he was born; and only his near relatives, as they pointed

outlive the denunciations even of my honorable friend,*—
 “Contempsit Catilinæ gladios;” I will not be so uncivil as
 to finish the quotation.

[*House of Commons, May 1870.*]

PROGRESS OF ORIENTAL STUDIES.

As to what we are doing for education, I will say nothing. I had occasion lately, in the House of Commons, to state some of the principal facts respecting it. The process, however, which is going on of interpreting the East to itself, and of gaining for Western civilisation whatever knowledge it has to give, requires some remark. Look at the labors of our learned societies in India itself, and of their sisters in

proudly to the gilded letters recording his name in the ancestral hall, or gave his departed soul kind offerings of food, would have remembered his existence. His bones might have been inurned in some peaceful spot in the hills, close to his home, where he used to confer with his friend Fung Yun-san; and when his spirit desired to re-visit earth, it might there have had sweet repose, shaded by the pine-trees, cheered by the singing of birds, looking down contented on the ancestral fields, still ploughed by his descendants, and beyond these to the flowing waters of the Pearl River and the mountains of the White Cloud; this is what, according to all Chinese ideas, would have been a happy and enviable fate; but it was not decreed for him. The son of a small peasant farmer, and himself a poor literate, afflicted with fits of madness, and trances, and visions, he was to sweep over the great Flowery Land, and, as Tseng Quo-fan says, cause devastation in sixteen provinces and six hundred cities. His ploughshare of steel and fire drove through the great valley of the Yengtze and approached the walls of Peking. No small tawdry yamun, or village school-house, was his abode for many years, but the ancient capital of China, and the palaces of the Ming. His visions turned into heaven-sent edicts which decided the fate of millions, and were pondered over in the distant capitals of Europe. At one moment the black-haired people seemed about to accept his sway, and when the end came, when his earthly existence was extinguished amid the horrors of the siege of Nanking, his body was found by the Imperial conqueror ‘enveloped in yellow satin, embroidered with dragons;’ almost all China exclaiming with Peking officialdom, ‘Words cannot convey any idea of the misery and desolation he caused; the measure of his iniquity was full, and the wrath of both gods and men was roused against him.’”

[*A Political Survey, December 1868.*]

* Sir Wilfrid Lawson.

Germany, England, and the United States. Consult the reports in which Professor Mohl formerly, or M. Renan now, sums up for the Asiatic Society of Paris the labors of the year in the wide field of Asiatic literature. Turn to the remarkable address which M. Garcin de Tassy annually delivers when he recommences his Lectures on Hindustani at the Collège de France. Ask the great non-British Orientalists, and you will not be left in doubt as to the facilities that have been given to students by British rule in India. There are few things, it has been justly observed, more remarkable in the history of human knowledge than the rapidity with which European *savans* have mastered so large a portion of what Asia has to tell. It has taken some four hundred years to bring us to our present acquaintance with Greek and Roman antiquity; and yet what conquests have the Orientalists, following the lead of our countrymen, made in less than a fourth part of that time! As Professor Mohl said in 1865, "all the beginners of these studies might, with the exception of Sir William Jones, have been among the personal acquaintance of some of those whom he was addressing;" and let it not be forgotten that one of the many results of all this has been the creation of a quite new and most fruitful science,—the science of language.

It is not written documents alone that are giving up their secrets. Men like Fergusson and Cunningham and Thomas, to mention only three out of many names, are gathering knowledge for us from the most unlike and diverse objects,—from the carvings on the walls of gigantic temples down to the legends upon coins. It was in 1867 that the Government of India first turned its attention to a survey of the architectural treasures in its vast dominion, and that survey is now proceeding, though much will have to be done before it has been got into a proper and satisfactory shape.

[*At Elgin, Oct. 20th, 1869.*]

TRADE ROUTES TO CHINA.

I should be very sorry to be understood to discourage the idea that a profitable trade may one day be established with South-Western China through our Indian dominions. I hold the diametrically opposite opinion, and believe that the day will come when we shall have first a small trade, then improved roads, and finally, for all I know, even a railway from Rangoon to Kiang Hung, but that last only in the far future.

I think we shall see a renewal and improvement of the trade down the Irawaddy, which, as I have said, died out in 1855; and I have a very strong impression that it may be possible to have a trade from Calcutta through Manipore to Bhamó and Talifoo.

Further, I believe the day will come when we may be able to communicate through the absolutely unknown country between Sudiya in Assam and Bathang, and that we may have Consuls in at least four great Towns of Western China. All that, however, is for our children and grandchildren to carry out. The duty of this generation is only to explore these outlying regions, and to make straight the paths for our successors. There are two kinds of projectors in the world,—those who see for what the times are ripe and lead the way to it, and those who, neglecting the real work of their own age, keep querulously anticipating the work of the age that is to follow, being born, as Lammenais would have said, “with repeaters in their heads which are always striking the hour.” Some of our friends in the North of England have, in this matter of the route between Rangoon and Western China, fallen, to their detriment and to the sorrow of the Government, into the hands of the latter kind of projector.

In conclusion, I will once more specially direct the attention of the honorable gentlemen, who are interested in

this matter, to the words of the despatch from which I read an extract. The two motives of the Government in directing the survey to be continued are, first, to extend geographical science and our acquaintance with the frontier lands of our own territory; secondly, to oblige the many mercantile communities, which have addressed the Government on this subject. I admit that it is not satisfactory, after having held Pegu for some sixteen years, that we really know as little of the countries beyond it as we did some sixteen years before we possessed it. The French, with a far inferior base of operations, and more than twice the distance to traverse, have passed through Yunnan, visiting both its Chinese and its Mussalman capital. That is greatly to their credit, and I hope, before long, we shall, through an increase of friendly and confidential intercourse with our allies at Peking, Bangkok, and Mandalay, know the Indo-Chinese Peninsula much better than we do now; but this particular question of communication with China through Rangoon, which seems, so to speak, a star of the first magnitude to many in the North of England, seems to the Government, considered as a project for the immediate benefit of commerce, a star of the fifteenth magnitude. Should I not rather say a mere will-o'-the-wisp? which, if we were to follow it to the neglect of our own real business in India, would lead us only into trouble and disgrace. [*House of Commons, July 30th, 1869.*]

COMMUNICATION BETWEEN INDIA AND CHINA.

In our own day, we have seen the old, old project of a direct communication between the Bay of Bengal and Kiang Hung revived and preached by the Epigonians, as a panacea for the stagnation of the trade of Manchester and Huddersfield. Strange that none of the people who have lent an ear to these sermons ever found out that this grand new trade

project proposed to them was but, so to speak, part of the left-off wardrobe of poor, much-reviled John Company.

While, however, it is the duty of the Indian Government, when it is asked for information, as it was on the 30th of July last, to discountenance the notion that somewhere behind its Burmese provinces there is a new Eldorado,

“A treasure land, where a daring hand has only to glean and gain.”

I think it is also its duty to follow up and finish the work which it began more than a generation ago, so that, when the time comes that Western China is in a position to enter into direct relations with her neighbours, we may be able to take advantage of any trade-gates that may be opened at any point from Assam right round to Kiang Hung, or beyond it. Meanwhile, by extending geographical knowledge, we shall be fulfilling a not less important, if perhaps less obvious, duty. No one can look at the long valley of Assam without observing that it points like a finger towards China, or hoping that the day may come when there may be a communication between it and the Yangtze. [*At Elgin, Oct. 20th, 1869.*]

FINANCIAL OPTIMISM IN INDIA.

I have no doubt that if the Anglo-Indian mind once disabuses itself of the pernicious heresy that its finances are in a thoroughly satisfactory state, and once for all resolutely refuses to listen to the sirens who sing to it that barracks and the like should be built out of loans, we shall soon put an end to Indian deficits.

[*House of Commons, Indian Financial Statement, August 3rd, 1869.*]

OUR INDIAN DEBT.

Our Indian debt is small, indeed, in comparison with that of the great nations of the world, but then we must remember that the words “our Indian debt” mean something quite

different in the mouth of an Anglo-Indian from what "our English debt" means in the mouth of an Englishman. The possessive pronoun covers a much larger number of persons here than in India.

[*House of Commons, Indian Financial Statement, August 5th, 1870.*]

SCYLLA AND CHARYBDIS.

If, however, we steadily resist the blandishments of *couleur de rose* financiers, I see nothing that should induce us to feel any real anxiety about the future of Indian finance. Great surpluses we are not likely to have in any time to which we can look forward, but then it is not in the nature of things that we *should* have them, for the very problem that we have to solve is, to spend every penny that we can upon improving and developing the country without involving ourselves too deeply in debt. The foreign rulers of India, more unhappy than the much-enduring hero of the ancient world, are doomed to sail, not once, but, I had almost said, for ever,—certainly for not a few decades,—between Scylla and Charybdis. Such a voyage requires no small amount of nerve, and the helmsman must not be blamed too harshly if, from time to time, he seems to be dangerously near either the Italian or the Sicilian coast; if, in other words, he seems sometimes to be pushing on improvements too quickly, and sometimes to be husbanding a little too much those pecuniary resources without a free use of which improvement is impossible.

[*House of Commons, Indian Financial Statement, August 5th, 1870.*]

DANGERS IN INDIA.

No one is fit to have anything to do with the affairs of that country, who is not thoroughly impressed with the belief that, whatever fate may have in store for us, the time has

not yet come when we can say that all is safe and quiet beneath that volcanic soil. Possibilities of danger are always around us, and he must have read Indian History to little profit who is surprised if, at any moment, some unregarded trifle leads to infinite trouble and alarm.

* * * * *

The revival, which has been going on in many religious communities since the end of the last century, has extended to the Mussulman world, or has, to speak more correctly, had its anti-type there. That is an element in Indian affairs not to be neglected, although it would be easy, very easy, to exaggerate its importance. The strange recrudescences of fanaticism, which have so often been seen in non-Mussulman India, are assuredly not yet over. The influence of extended education and of contact with Europeans is beginning to show itself in the stirrings of what it would be premature to call Indian public opinion, but of what may be called native class and sectional opinion, with which it is quite necessary to reckon, though we must take care not to confound it with the opinion of the dumb millions, when they have an opinion. To their interests it is often violently opposed.

[*House of Commons, Indian Financial Statement, August 6th, 1872.*]

THE REVENUE LAW OF MENU.

Have honorable members ever read the Revenue Law of Menu, as quoted by Mr. Wilson in his great speech of the 18th February 1860?—

“The revenue consists of a share of grain and of all other agricultural produce; taxes on commerce; a very small annual imposition on petty traders and shop-keepers; and a forced service of a day in each month by handicraftsmen.

“The merchants are to be taxed on a consideration of the prime cost of their commodities, the expense of travelling and their net profits.

“On cattle, gems, gold, and silver, added each year to the capital, one-fiftieth, which, in time of war or invasion, may be increased to one-twentieth.

“On grain, one-twelfth, one-eighth, one-sixth, according to the soil, and the labor necessary to cultivate it. This also may be raised, in cases of emergency, even as far as one-fourth, and must always have been the most important item in public revenue.

“On the clear annual increase of trees, flesh meat, honey, perfumes, and several other natural productions and manufactures, one-sixth.

“The king is also entitled to 20 per cent. on the profit of all sales. Escheats, for want of heirs, have been mentioned as being his, and so also is all property to which no owner appears within three years’ proclamation. Besides possessing mines of his own, he is entitled to half of the precious metals in the earth.”

After this, is it surprising that Mr. Wilson should add, “I should imagine the revenue laws of the ancient Hindus must have been contributed to the sacred compiler by some very needy Finance Minister of the day.”

And yet we are accused of being unduly severe in our taxation, when from a country, where a taxation like this is permitted in the books of the golden age,—in a country where every financial device was adopted before our coming, even by the most virtuous Minister,—we raise a taxation, spent exclusively in increasing the prosperity of the country, of about 3*s.* 10½*d.* per head, even if you consider the rupee to be worth 2*s.*, but at present, remember, it is only worth 1*s.* 10½*d.* That makes a difference of about 3*d.* *Three shillings and seven pence, half-penny per head is the whole amount of taxation raised in India by the British, inclusive of the land-revenue.* That is a fact which seems to me one of the most creditable that has ever been told of any nation. What

we do in return for that taxation the annual "statement of moral and material progress" is there to show.

[*House of Commons, Indian Financial Statement, August 4th, 1873.*]

THIRTEEN YEARS OF INDIAN FINANCE.

The fact of the matter is, that, so far as money is concerned, the lines have fallen to us in pleasant places; and it is particularly amusing to observe that the *quasi-panic* about the perilous state of Indian finance did not begin until after the measures were taken, which have ended in sweeping away the deficit that had accumulated in the unlucky three years which ended with the spring of 1869, and originated that *quasi-panic*. In these three years the deficit on the actual accounts was no less than 6,299,216*l.*, while in the three years that followed them, viz., 1869-70, 1870-71, 1871-72, the surpluses on the actual accounts were no less than 4,725,836*l.*, so that the year ending 31st March 1873,—the year of the regular estimate in which we expect a surplus of 1,492,038*l.*,—will very nearly redress the balance and sweep off the traces of the three years of deficit altogether.

That is satisfactory, but there is better behind.

* * * * *

If we take the whole series of Indian accounts from the time when Mr. Wilson first took the finances in hand, that is, from 1860 down to the end of the year of the Regular Estimate, we find a surplus of income over expenditure during the thirteen years of 324,885*l.*

I showed last year, in some detail, that we have, out of income, since 1st May 1861, expended something like thirty millions in roads, canals, harbours, civil buildings, military buildings, State railways, and other works of a permanent character absolutely necessary to India, if she is to rank as a

civilised country, so that India's position is that of a landed proprietor, who, looking back on the management of his estates for thirteen years, finds that he has enormously improved those estates out of his ordinary income, and has also laid by a few thousand pounds in hard cash,—a position which cannot be described as an unendurable one.

Of course, the enemies of the Indian Government will immediately say, Oh! you are quite forgetting that you have appropriated and used as ordinary income a number of sums which you call windfalls, but which a mercantile concern, if managed according to proper mercantile principles, would have treated as capital, and not have used as income at all.

To that I reply, Well, suppose I admit, for the sake of argument, that what you say is true, as to all these items to which you object, it is indisputable that we have charged *against income* sums to a very much greater amount than the amount of these disputed items, all of which sums a mercantile concern would have charged against capital and not against income, so that when I only claim to have a surplus of 324,000*l.*, on the finances of India, since Mr. Wilson took them in hand, I confess I wonder at my own moderation.

[*House of Commons, Indian Financial Statement, August 4th, 1873.*]

HOW DOES HER CONNEXION WITH INDIA BENEFIT ENGLAND?

You begin by asking me “in what sort of ways, India most strikes me as a benefit to England rather than a burden and a risk”.

To that question I reply, I think that India is chiefly useful to England, in that it enlarges our national view of things; in that it affords a market for the products of our

industry; in that it sends to us many valuable commodities; and in that it obtains for us increased consideration from other nations.

[*The Contemporary Review*, 1875, reprinted at the end of *Notes of an Indian Journey*, 1876.]

THE IMPERIAL TEMPER.

The imperial temper, if kept within bounds by reason and justice, by thinking more of the duties to others, which vast possessions impose, than of the rights which they confer *over* others, is distinctly good to the individual power of the Englishman, and to the power of the nation to which he belongs. You see something of the same good effect when you travel in Holland and talk to people there, from the possession by Holland of the second colonial empire in the world. You see something of the disadvantages of the absence of it when you travel in France. Who shall say that the passion of France for military glory in Europe has not been largely stimulated by the want of such a field for imagination and enterprise as India has afforded to us.

[*As above.*]

INDIA AS BEARING ON OUR "PRESTIGE."

If consideration from other nations is of importance, there can be no doubt that our Indian empire gives us greatly increased consideration throughout the world. True, that consideration is usually given from mistaken reasons. India is supposed to add to our strength, from which it certainly, at this moment, detracts, and is supposed to add to our wealth very much more than it really does. Only very well-informed persons on the continent of Europe are exempt from the delusion that England receives a direct money

tribute from India, as Holland does from Java; and again, thanks to our national habit of self-depreciation,—a habit only less disgusting than the converse one of self-laudation, you find an idea widely spread, and existing in very high quarters indeed, that the English rule in India is a cruel, or at least a harsh, one. Still, everywhere it conveys an idea of vast power and limitless resources, and that is good, because, in a certain sense, it is perfectly true. It might be said that a greater colonial empire would have done the same. I do not think it would. It is quite curious how little our existing colonial empire, to which India is in point of size a very small affair indeed, strikes the European, or even for that matter the English, imagination. How many people know that the territory of poor Western Australia, the Cinderella of the southern seas, is about as large as *British* India? Besides, if our colonial empire had increased too rapidly on us, other colonies would have perhaps grown *strong* before we grew *wise*, as the United States did; and we should have lost, first, energy and treasure in trying to keep them, and next, them into the bargain. India, too, has been for ages the land of romance. No colony could have affected the imagination as it has done. [As above.]

INDIA AS A TRAINING-GROUND FOR OUR ARMIES.

As to India being a training-ground for our armies; no doubt it was so at one time and to some extent, but it can never be so again. The whole conditions are altered. "*Debellavimus superbos*" with a vengeance, and no fighting that could now take place in India would be of any avail for the instruction of our armies with reference to any field in which they are likely to be engaged on a large scale. For European warfare, indeed, any training that troops are likely to get in India now, *by actual warfare*, would probably

be distinctly bad,—bad in the way in which the Algerian training was bad for the French. [*As above.*]

IS INDIA A STRENGTH OR A WEAKNESS TO US?

Now I come to your second question—Is India a strength or a weakness to England?

Certainly a weakness,—a glorious weakness, but a weakness. A weakness, that is in material strength. Of course, it is impossible to say how much importance is to be attached to that enlarging the national view and quickening the national pulse to which I have already alluded. People will attach less or more importance to it according to their temperament; but I cannot conceive there being any doubt as to the possession of India making us very much weaker in Europe and America. In Asia, of course, it is otherwise; but the additional strength given in dealing for non-Indian purposes, with such States as Persia or China, or certain parts of the Turkish Empire, including Egypt, by the possession of India, is not worth considering, when compared with the clog it is upon our power nearer home. As against France, for instance, or Russia or Germany, we should be much stronger for wanting India. If we had no India, we should be at once able to put our army on a totally different, and, for European purposes, a very much more efficient, footing. I personally do not much regret this; because I think the occasions on which we shall be called upon to take part in European wars are likely to be very few and far between; but the fire-eating portion of the community, and those who think that it is a part of England's business to be a sort of knight-errant,—now fighting against France to help Germany, and now against Germany to help France,—ought, if it were consistent, to wish India at the bottom of its own ocean.

[*As above.*]

THE UNKNOWN IN INDIA.

In India you have always,—what you have not, to anything like the same extent, in the colonies,—the element of the unknown to reckon with. You are making an absolutely novel experiment. Even the history of Rome, in her dealings with the provinces,—the only one which presents the slightest analogy,—offers you no help. Things are continually turning up in India, which show that you are surrounded by unknown dangers,—dangers which may well make even those anxious, who, like myself, attach no importance to some of the recognised and stock dangers which are periodically trotted out by alarmists.

I never read a description of a great ship steaming through a fog on the banks of Newfoundland when icebergs are known to be about, without thinking of our Government of India. We can do nothing except what the captain does in that case,—get the keenest-eyed men in the ship to watch and go right ahead. [*As above.*]

SHALL WE DROP INDIA?

You ask, fourthly, what I think would be the economical disadvantages of dropping India now, apart from moral and sentimental considerations to which you naturally and properly attach “immense weight.”

To that I reply, the thing would be absolutely impossible, however much you might desire it. Think first what conceivable arrangement could be made about the Indian debt, any interference with which would carry discomfort, not to say ruin, into so many British households. What arrangement could be made about the railways, as to which the same remark would apply? What about all the numerous creations of English capital in various parts of the country? How would you compensate all your servants, whose careers would be destroyed by your abandonment of India? How

would you pay the pensions of all those who have served that country under your *régime* and whose means of livelihood is largely derived from her revenues? How would you compensate the innumerable traders who would be so grievously prejudiced by your change of policy, as to have a good right to ask for compensation? No, putting moral and sentimental considerations entirely on one side, we are in for it, and must stick to it. I cannot conceive any one coming to an opposite conclusion even if he took the gloomiest view possible, and had persuaded himself that Clive and Hastings had simply got their country into the most magnificent scrape recorded in history.

When we add the moral and sentimental considerations to these economical ones, we may be very sure that England will hold on to India and to the perfect freedom of the Isthmus transit, even if she had to go through such a strain in doing so as she did in the Napoleonic Wars.

[*As above.*]

THE EUROPEAN AND THE NATIVE.

Till one actually sees the Natives in masses, one does not realise how great the gap between them and ourselves, considered as a whole, in fact is. We see in this country remarkable individuals,—clever boys who come over to push their fortunes; men of rank who have had the strength of mind to set at naught the prejudices which oppose themselves to their coming to this country. Sensible people do not, of course, imitate those public speakers who talk of “the Indians” as if India was anything, or ever had been anything but a geographical expression; nor do they quote the memorials of this or that association in the Presidency towns as if they, in the most distant manner, represented anything but themselves. But still they often do not realise how utterly *unpolitical* is the vast mass of the population which

lives in India; how little they are touched by the kind of Indian questions which are talked about in this country, and which are supposed to be deeply interesting to them.

The observation of the Russian peasant to the enthusiastic Englishman—"Yes, God is great, and Nicholas is great; and then Nicholas is *so young!*"—has a very up-country Indian ring about it,—very much represents the sort of way in which many a ryot who is imagined to be deeply interested about the income-tax (which some one else pays!) looks forth into the Cosmos. [*As above.*]

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It is idle cant not to admit that the Natives of India are far inferior to ourselves. If that were not so, we should not be there. That being so, our attitude must be usually an attitude of command; and an attitude of command, if prompt obedience is not rendered, is very apt to become an attitude of harshness and menace. If you are not prepared for a good deal of the attitude of command, you had better leave the country, for the problem which you propose to yourselves is an insoluble one; but the very men who will be most prompt in crushing down opposition to lawful commands will be the first to adopt as little of the attitude of command as possible. Under their rule, the thing they wish will be done with no appearance of effort on their part. That is the ideal which all your best men set before themselves, ruling as if they merely guided; and that ideal will more and more spread amongst classes which would not have adopted it of their own mere motion. [*As above.*]

Besides, we, who sit quietly at home and discuss these questions, should not forget that *the* great difficulty in the way of putting the Natives on anything like the same social platform as the Europeans comes from the Native, not the

European side. What are you to do with the orthodox Muhammadan, whose creed, as far as you are concerned, is tersely summed up by the poet in the lines :

“Praise to the name Almighty ; there is no God but One ;
 Mahomet is his Prophet, and his will shall ever be done.
 Ye shall take no use for your money, nor your soul for
 interest sell ;
 Ye shall make no pact with the Infidel, but smite his soul
 to Hell ? ”

What are you to do with the high-caste Hindu, who washes his hands the moment your back is turned if he has had the misfortune to touch you ? As long as these fierce religious and caste distinctions remain, there is a gulf between the races which cannot be crossed, and which will prevent the growing up of many of those charities of life which are the chief bond of a homogeneous society. [*As above.*]

ENGLISH *VERSUS* NATIVE RULE.

The very people who *think* they prefer Native to English rule would be wild with horror if they were to be exposed for a single year to Native rule, as Native rule would be if English rule did not subsist side by side with it.

[*As above.*]

WHAT WOULD HAPPEN IF WE ABANDONED INDIA ?

If we abandoned India to-morrow, we should leave great material traces of our rule in roads, railways, and other public works, although nearly all of them would very soon fall into ruin. We should leave considerable moral traces for a time, but only for a time, on the lives of a mere fraction of the most enlightened portion of the inhabitants ; but on the great mass of the population we should leave no trace, that we would wish to leave, whatever. We have put the millions on the very first step of the ladder, which would lead them to a more prosperous life ; but India must have a further hundred

years of education before they will have climbed many steps up that ladder. If we disappeared now, the relics of English influence would be just one perturbing element more in the vast and complicated world of India. In what direction the relics of that influence would work, it is vain even to speculate. You might have, amongst other things, some such movement as the Taeping rebellion in China growing out of a crazy and horrible mixture of Christian and non-Christian ideas. Some years ago in the Punjab, a peasant told an Englishman that he and his village had been reading a book about a country to which light did not come from the sun, but, strange to say, from a lamb, and that he had arrived at the station for the purpose of getting some more information about this wonderful lamb. The man had been reading a translation of the Apocalypse, and had taken it for a geographical work. That is merely one instance to show you the sort of unexpected result that has been produced, thus far, by our very best efforts to influence the masses.

[*As above.*]

IS INDIA A POOR COUNTRY?

India really looks as if it had been *made* for the purpose of being managed by a civilised and wealthy people, who would pour capital into it from without. It is common to say that it is a poor country; and so it is, but it is only a poor country, because its vast resources require a prodigious amount of development,—a development which its own people cannot give them.

[*As above.*]

THE BOREDOM OF INDIA.

As our English education improves, as more men and women are trained to observe the world around them, more and more people will go to India *with an eye for the external aspects of the country and its people*. Then a returned Indian

will not be considered, as he has so often been hitherto, merely as a man who bores his listeners about the details of administration, for which they care nothing. What have we not all suffered, in the days of our youth, from old Collectors, who had passed all their lives in the midst of curious and interesting things without knowing it!

[*As above.*]

EDUCATION IN INDIA.

I believe that the most important thing you can do for education in India, at present, is to throw as much weight as you can into the scientific as against the literary scale. You are in great danger of raising up, especially in Bengal, an educated prolétariat, with no ambition except to enter Government offices, become teachers or write for newspapers. It is infinitely important that you should multiply the as-yet-altogether-trifling number of Natives of India, who know anything about the material world by which they are surrounded, and the still smaller number who can turn, what knowledge they have of it, to practical use.

[*As above.*]

COMPARATIVE PROGRESS OF ENGLAND AND INDIA.

Both this country and India are progressing; but this country is progressing much more rapidly, and that is one of the reasons why you may hope to keep India. There was, as it seems to me, great depth of wisdom in the remark of a Native, which I quoted the other day at Elgin, with reference to this subject. "I often hear," he said, "my countrymen say, 'in time we shall have learnt all we can from the English, and then we shall be able to do without them'; but I always think, when I hear language like that, of the man who said, 'in two years I shall be as old as my elder brother.'"

[*As above.*]

CENTRAL ASIA IN 1868.

This is, indeed, a most serious matter, and nothing can be more foolish than to under-rate its importance now, because we over-rated its importance thirty years ago. The whole situation is altered. Russia has come more than a thousand miles to meet us, and we have advanced many hundred miles to meet her. "The Sepoy and the Cossack" have not yet encountered each other, "on the banks of the Oxus;" but their encounter, peaceful or warlike, has become a much less improbable contingency. When Russia is fairly established in Bokhara, she will come into necessary connection with the little-known country which lies between Bokhara and those parts of Afghanistan with which we are familiar, and she will pass almost involuntarily within the domain of Indian politics.

[*A Political Survey, December 1868.*]

AFGHANISTAN IN 1868.

Since affairs in Afghanistan began, within the last month or two, to get a little more settled, rumours have come to this country that the Government of the Viceroy was less unfavourable to attempting to acquire influence at Cabul, in the only way in which influence can be obtained by us in that capital. This appears to me somewhat premature; but Sir John Lawrence's policy in the affairs of Central Asia has been so prudent that I cannot doubt that if he really contemplates spending money for this purpose, he will have very good reasons for doing so. As to the advance to Candahar, which has been advocated by many, since the appearance of a celebrated article in the *Westminster* in 1857, surely, however wise it may one day be, if things in Persia and Central Asia take the worst possible turn for us, the time is not yet.

[*A Political Survey, December 1868.*]

THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF RUSSIA.

When we have taken every possible precaution, the situation will still be a perilous one. But when has our situation in India been other than a perilous one? India is a barrel of gunpowder, round which sparks are perpetually flying. The neighbourhood of Russia adds, at the worst, a few sparks more.

[*A Political Survey, December 1868.*]

What then should we do?

My answer is,—1. We should strengthen our own position in India. Above all, we should press forward our railways towards the frontier, make Kurrachee a great port, if the engineers, who have been lately consulted, say that this can be done, and complete railway communication through the whole of the Indus Valley. To these strategical measures we should add everything that can be done to increase our hold upon that part of the population of India which is not hopelessly disaffected to our rule, by every measure that can tend to its happiness and well-being, while we should stand ready to crush any attempt at rebellion on the part of the disaffected classes as we did in 1857, with over-whelming severity.

[*A Political Survey, December 1868.*]

WHY WE SHOULD CULTIVATE CLOSE RELATIONS WITH
PERSIA?

The honorable member has, as was to be expected, devoted a considerable part of his speech to our relations with Persia. Against the practical conclusions at which he has arrived I have little to advance. I am as anxious as he can be that we should keep, not only on amicable, but even upon cordial, terms with the government of the Shah; but I wish it to be distinctly understood that in advocating close relations with

Persia, I am guided chiefly by the following considerations :— Firstly, it seems desirable that we should support that government from motives of good neighbourhood, and because it is the obvious interest of a country situated like Great Britain that every civilisation should develop itself in its own way. Secondly, it is desirable that we should be acceptable to, and influential at, Teheran, in order that we may work in the interests of peace. When Persia quarrels with Turkey or with Russia, we suffer more or less ; when she quarrels with the small potentates of the Gulf, we suffer more or less ; but when she quarrels with the Afghans or Beloochistan, it is *proximus ardet Ucalegon*, and we are put to infinite expense and inconvenience in ordering out the fire-engines. Thirdly, it is desirable that we should be strong at Teheran, in order that we may give all possible support to the material development of the country. The trade between Persia and India is already considerable, but I am assured, by those most intimately acquainted with its details, that it is not likely to increase until better roads are made from the interior to the seaboard of Persia. For the obtaining of this and many other good things for that country, nothing is wanted but external peace and internal strong government, together with the counsel and support of a thoroughly disinterested and highly-civilised power.

[*House of Commons, July 9th, 1869.*]

POLICY OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WITH REGARD TO CENTRAL ASIA IN 1869.

The policy of Her Majesty's Government with reference to Central Asia, in so far as it is connected with India, may be thus summed up :—

First, we desire to live on the best possible terms with all our neighbours, by which I mean that we not only desire to do no harm to them, but that each one of them should not

only be, but feel himself, the stronger and happier for being in contact with Her Majesty's Indian Empire.

Secondly, we intend to strengthen in every possible way our north-western frontier. We intend to make, and are making, Kurrachee as good a port as modern engineering science can make it. We look forward to the completion, at no very distant period, of the missing link of railway in the Indus Valley, and we are already pushing the railway on towards Peshawur.

Thirdly, we mean to give every encouragement to the extension of trade with Central Asia. We look with considerable favor upon the efforts which are being made by Mr. Forsyth and others to extend that trade, and we are glad to observe that the Maharaja of Cashmere and his able Minister have been acting thoroughly with us in that matter. We will regard with the most friendly feelings any judicious efforts that may be made to increase our knowledge of the countries to the north-west, as well as to the north-east and east of our dominions. It is, perhaps, not altogether creditable to Great Britain that the geographer should have any work still to do so near British territory, but the difficulties have been, and are even now, great; and, considering how recent an acquisition the Punjab after all is, we may, I hope, plead not unsuccessfully, before the science of Europe, the *res dura* and the *regni novitas*.

Lastly, we are firmly persuaded that, if we could believe in the possibility of any danger from the side of Central Asia threatening us at present in India,—if, in short, that great substantive conquering empire of which I spoke a little time ago did exist, and were not a mere fiction of the brain,—our best protection, a better protection even than the vast spaces which a hostile army would have to traverse, or than the strength which that hostile army would have to meet, lies, and will ever lie, in the good government of India, in the

development of the material prosperity and general well-being of the people.

We wish our rule there to be increasingly sympathetic, as well as increasingly enlightened; and, while we will crush and stamp out every, the slightest, attempt at resistance to authority, we will not forget that authority in India, as in Europe, has sometimes "beat with his staff the child that might have led him."

By these acts, we believe, if by any, empire will be deserved and will be held; and while we will watch, and are watching, with the deepest and minutest interest, the development of events in Central Asia; and while we will thank the honorable gentleman who has spoken to-night, and any other honorable gentleman, for giving us from time to time the benefit of any information which they may have, or any ideas that may occur to them, we wish it to be distinctly understood that we have not a feeling of uneasiness or alarm about this whole matter. And the fact that Russia has advanced to a point between Samarcand and Bokhara has not induced us to do any one thing which we would not have had the strongest motives for doing if she had never passed a verst beyond the Orenburg line.

[*House of Commons, July 9th, 1869.*]

AFGHANISTAN.

For some years, the Committee will remember, a civil war raged in Afghanistan, and it was impossible for even the best informed statesman to say to which side the sympathies of that wild race would at length incline. During these years, Sir John Lawrence, in spite of encouragement, in spite of taunts, in spite of Russophobia, and that still more dangerous complaint which ever rages along the Indian frontier line, and is known as the K.C.B. mania, held his hand, and preserved an attitude of friendly observation. That was the period of "masterly inactivity," to use the happy phrase of a gifted man

the late Mr. J. S. Wyllie, who was in this House for a few weeks, but has now, alas! illustrated the saying, "whom the gods love dies young." But then circumstances changed. It became clear that Shere Ali really represented a majority of the Afghan nation, and Sir John Lawrence assisted him with no niggard hand. All that has since been done has been the development of that policy. We have made no entangling alliance; but the knowledge that we desire to see the existing ruler of Cabul strong, peaceful, and prosperous, together with the frank interchange of views that has taken place between the Foreign Offices at St. Petersburg and London, have produced a most excellent effect, from the mouth of the Khyber far away to the cities of Central Asia. The political troubles of Afghanistan, however, arise as suddenly as the winter-storms among her mountains, and many accidents might upset the fair promise of the present.

[*House of Commons, Indian Financial Statement, Aug. 5th, 1870.*]

PERSIA, MERV, HERAT, 1873.

It has been said that the Shah should be encouraged to take Merv. Why should he be encouraged to take Merv, to add an oasis and some more thousand square miles of desert to a country of which some one said that it consisted of only two parts,—the desert with salt, and the desert without salt? Would it really be to his happiness to add to a territory which is already twenty times as big as Ireland, and which even before the last famine had only a population of about seven to the square mile?

With regard to Herat, I do not see that its possession would really benefit Persia. But if it did, Herat is not ours to give. It belongs to the Afghans, who are our allies just as much as the Persians. It is quite beside the mark to assert that we, at one time, over-rated the importance to English

interests of Herat staying in the hands in which it was. Very possibly we did; but it is one thing to say that we might have done wisely forty years ago not to trouble ourselves so much about Herat, and quite another thing to say that to change our minds about it now, and to say that it ought to belong to Persia, would be a wise measure even if it were a just one. We are, no doubt, so strong in India that we might afford to disregard the imputation which would be sure to be made, that, namely, we had changed our policy about Herat under pressure. But putting aside, as I have said, for a moment the justice of the case, it would be quite undesirable to give an altogether unnecessary shock to public opinion in Asia. My honorable friend has spoken frankly, and I will speak frankly. My honorable friend has some influence in the Councils of Teheran.* Let, then, my honorable friend do all he can to turn away the minds of all persons there from any idea of aggression; be it on Turkey, be it on the small independent potentates of the Gulf, be it on Russia, be it even on the Turkoman barbarians, if these last leave the Persian frontiers alone, which, by the way, they will hardly do, unless some better force is organised for their protection. If my honorable friend will do this, and make himself at the same time the advocate of material progress and European ideas of government, he will do a far greater service to his friends than by stamping the complaints of some of them with his authority.

It is with great satisfaction that I observe the rise of a new generation of Indian officials, who take as strong an interest in Persia as did the officers whom we sent in former days to train the armies of the Shah. The knowledge of that country which is now possessed by Sir Frederick Goldsmid, Major Bateman-Champain, Major St. John, Major Murdoch Smith, and others, who have been connected with our Persian

* Mr. Edward Eastwick.

telegraph line, is most honorable to them, and cannot fail to be in many ways useful to their Government. The state of things in Persia is certainly in many ways regrettable, but there can be no doubt that the eyes of the highest personages at Teheran have been recently opened to the fact that the great misfortune of Persia is the interposition, between it and the civilisation of Europe, of large provinces belonging to Russia and Turkey, which are very indifferent conductors of civilisation. [*House of Commons, April 1873.*]

FOREIGN POLICY OF INDIA IN 1873.

It is a part of our policy, and a very important one, to surround our frontiers by a circle of States over which we do not wish, nay, would shrink from attempting, to exert any authority ; because, amongst other reasons, the charge would be far too great a burden upon our Indian finances, but which we desire to be in close alliance with, and powerfully influenced by, the Indian Government. The most important of these States are Khelat, Afghanistan, Nepaul, and Burmah. We consider that these territories are within the legitimate sphere of our attraction, and no hostile interference with them would be viewed with indifference by us. We think they belong of right to the sphere of English commerce and of English ideas ; but, as for erecting them, or any of them, into defences against Russia, or any body else, that is not what occupies us. If we want, at any future time,—and in the changes and chances of human things, of course it is within the range of possibility that we may want bulwarks against some body or other,—we shall know how to make them, even if the Suleiman, and the Hindoo Koosh, and the Karakorum, and the Himalaya into the bargain, are so obliging to our foes as to take themselves out of the way. We shall find bulwarks in our own arms and in our own policy. It was by these that we won India against odds, the

like of which even the wildest alarmist never brought against us in his worst fits of *Russophobia tremens*, and it is by these we mean to keep it. I am heart and soul with those who say that we should watch and know every step of Russian advance. The result of not doing so is that we are exposed from time to time to such foolish panics as that which has been lately raging; but if we really do take the trouble to keep ourselves accurately acquainted with what Russia is doing, it will be many a day before it is necessary to do anything in consequence which we are not already doing for other reasons, and the best advice that can be given is contained in the Spanish proverb, "Let him attack who wills, the strong man waits."

[*House of Commons, April 1873.*]

MERV AND HERAT IN 1874-75.

Unless diplomacy keeps the Russians away from Merv, we can take up no attitude in these countries except one. We have nothing to say, as of right, beyond the limits of the dominions which we have recognised as those of Shere Ali, but any aggression on those dominions by a European Power means war with England.

I am generally supposed, and I believe justly, to be as favorable to Russia as any one who has studied this question; and I do not imagine that any person in Russia, whose opinion is worth considering, has ever dreamt of meddling with Herat; but the necessity of our not allowing a European Power to meddle with Herat I have never doubted, as any one who will take the trouble to look at my writings and speeches may readily convince himself.

Russia, even if she were in possession of Herat, would still find herself further from our Scinde frontier than the Land's End is from John O'Groats. An attempt upon India by Russia, even if she were in possession of Herat, would be a disastrous failure; but the accidents of history, and the

engagements assumed by various Ministers have committed us as to Herat, and by Herat we must stand.

The last fancy of alarmists is that Merv would be used by the Russians for the purpose of making a dash at Herat. Dover might, with infinitely greater facility, be used as a place for making a dash against Calais ; but the inhabitants of that city sleep in peace, and so may the inhabitants of Herat, until some English Minister altogether disavows the policy that has been hitherto pursued by all English Ministers of all parties.

It is necessary to say this to prevent misconception ; but pray understand that I do not think that Russia has hitherto done any one single thing in Central Asia, that she had not a perfect good right to do, so far as *we* are concerned. As to how far she may have made imprudent statements to us as to what she meant and did not mean to do, that is a matter on which I express no opinion.

[*The Contemporary Review*, 1875, reprinted at the end of *Notes of an Indian Journey*.]

ENGLAND AND RUSSIA IN THE EAST, 1875.

A great many politicians do not seem as yet to realise how enormously the relations of the Great Powers have been altered by the events of 1870. What is *the* fact of the Continent at this moment ? It is that Germany is immensely increasing her already immense military strength, that she is making her western frontier so strong as to be able to keep France at a distance while she strikes with her full force, to the east and south, if needs be. The causes which may embroil her with Austria are well known, but less attention has been given in this country to what people in Germany seem to be thinking much more of,—the possibility of a collision with Russia. It is for the event of this possible collision that Russia is herself straining her resources to

crowd always more and more men into her army, so that she will soon have on paper positively a larger force than that represented by all the armies of Europe only a few years ago. But the battle-fields which Russia is thinking of are not battle-fields on the Oxus or before Herat, but more serious battle-fields nearer home. On her own soil, or close to it, Russia is a terribly formidable power; but at a vast distance from her own soil, she is a very weak power; for her want of money, want of science, and comparative want of official honesty, tell much more heavily against her, at a distance from the centre of affairs, than they do near home. This, then, may be taken as the first great modification of the political situation since 1868. Russia has now got a power stronger than herself with which she may at any moment become embroiled upon her western frontier. How far are we away from the days when the Emperor Nicholas addressed the officers of the Prussian guard in the palace at Berlin, and thought he was paying them a great compliment when he called them "*his advanced guard*"!

[*The Fortnightly Review*, November 1875.]

ADVANCE TO QUETTA, &c., 1875.

As for our advancing to Quetta, Candahar, or Herat, one hour before it is absolutely necessary to do so, I am entirely opposed to any such step. Even if our army were composed of saints, or, as they said of it in Abyssinia, of "religious students," it could not fail very soon to disgust the populations around these places: for an army, however virtuous, must eat, and the mere trebling or quadrupling of prices to people who suffer always from grinding poverty, would be felt as a most cruel wrong. Beyond our own North-West frontier, we never can be looked upon as anything but the less of two evils, and must take infinite care to be considered the less and not the greater.

[*As above.*]

ENGLAND AND RUSSIA IN 1812 AND 1875.

Then, in 1812 Russia was no doubt far less rich and far less skilful than she is now ; but who that knows the country would maintain for a moment that her increase, even in the arts (which, to use Campbell's expression in speaking of her, "urge Bellona's iron car"), has been faintly comparable to that of Britain ? She has now got in Europe a rather meagre net work of railways, while in India we have got a better net work of railways than she has at home ; and in Asia she has no railways at all.

Then, contrast her roads and our roads. Has she any thing in Asia to compare to the Grand Trunk Road ? Has she many things like it in Europe ? If people who write about Russia, and her tremendous power for offence, would only just go and look at her !

Next, think of the growth of our mercantile navy, and power of transporting men and munitions of war, as compared with the transporting power of Russia. Contrast the ease with which we can send any amount of troops any where, with the toilsome marches which Russia would have to calculate on in sending troops across Asia. Compare the effects of the Crimean war in retarding our national progress, with the fearful shock that was given to Russia by that war. Then, again, compare the kind of territory which we *have* conquered in India with that which she *is* conquering in Central Asia. Remember that one man commanded as an ensign when our frontier towards the North-West was twenty miles in front of Bombay, and as a Colonel when our frontier was at Peshawar. Why, the Punjab alone is worth every acre that Russia has got south of Orenburg !

If she were thinking of India, and were at ease about Europe, she would diminish her army, save her money, perfect her communications, make the three Khanates as Russian as Bengal is English, and prepare for a great struggle in 1900.

So much for the past, but recollect that everything in England is advancing in geometrical as compared merely to arithmetical progression in Russia,—our wealth, our skill, our carrying power,—and that from year to year success in war becomes more and more a question, first of science, secondly of power to buy enormously costly appliances.

[*As above.*]

A SPIRITED FOREIGN POLICY ON THE NORTH-EAST FRONTIER.

The same kind of person who is all for a “spirited foreign policy,” and “taking time by the forelock” on the North-West frontier, is all for eating up Burmah when occasion serves. He does not reflect that if we take Burmah, we must keep for some time a considerable body of troops to occupy it, and that by so doing, we shall either diminish our force on our opposite frontier, or unduly thin the garrisons which we have dotted over India, or increase taxation; for we have already got the richest part of Burmah, and, the moment after annexation, we should begin to think of good administration, that is, of giving the country the advantages of a *European* Government, in return for an *Asiatic* revenue.

[*As above.*]

THE AFGHANS IN 1878.

The whole thing is a question of relative duties. Shall I be thought very parochially-minded if I say that these people are not in our parish? India is, after all, only a corner of the great British parish, and it contains 250,000,000 for whom we are doubtless doing much, if we look at it from the point of view of our numbers and position on the earth's surface, but on whom, after all, we are producing very moderate results. Is it, then, wise to enter upon a course of policy which is but too likely to end in landing us with the additional responsibility of what a friend of mine epigram-

matically described the other day as "Four Switzerlands inhabited by savages?"

The noble Lord further explained that the reason why he desired to have an independent and friendly Power in Afghanistan was that Afghanistan had a Frontier from which, at any moment, "the Natives could invade or make a raid on India." Well, if that is so, all I can say is that I trust not twenty-four hours will pass before the India Office telegraphs to Lord Lytton to wind up the Indian Empire and come home. Talk of British India being invaded by the Afghans! Talk of England being conquered by the gipsies! To base a policy on a dream like that, is, indeed, strange. But the noble Lord went on to quote Lord Lawrence's account of the plundering propensities of the Afghans. Who doubts them? I do not mean to say that they would not be too glad to invade India if they could, and I dare say the gipsies would be very glad to conquer England. We want the Afghan Ruler to be strong, because we want from him, as I have said before, "that kind of indirect assistance which a civilised Government must always derive from being known to exercise a pacifying and semi-civilising influence around its own borders." But as for fearing the Afghans, I cannot understand what it means. Has it come to this, Sir? Are we really not living in the year 1878, under the auspicious reign of Lord Beaconsfield and a Government which loves a spirited foreign policy? Are we afraid even of the Afghans? Is this not 1878 but 1761? Is Ahmed Shah, and not Shere Ali, on the throne of Afghanistan? and we, are we like the last great ruling race which preceded us in India, about to suffer a crushing defeat at the hands of the Afghans? What! am I to be told that when our troops have to meet this Afghan invasion, they will advance to do so as the Mahrattas are said by a historian of those times to have advanced at Paniput, with,

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“every symptom of hopeless despair, rather than that of steady resolution?” Would “every thing in our host bespeak the despondency of sacrifice prepared rather than the courage of victory determined?” And when the fight was over, would our commander have to write a letter to the Viceroy like that one which the Mahratta commander wrote to the Peishwa, and which broke his heart, as well it might, Sir, for it conveyed in figurative Oriental language only too true an impression of agonising and intolerable disaster? Is that what is feared by this Government which talks so much of a spirited foreign policy? India, as the noble Lord told us, has been often invaded from beyond the Passes. Doubtless it has, and England has been often invaded by the Norwegians and Danes. Are we afraid of the Norwegians and the Danes now? There are real dangers enough in India without inventing new ones. Did the noble Lord ever hear the Mahratta saying, “If each of us only threw a single clod of earth, we could overwhelm the white faces.” Of course, they could; but did this prevent our taking fort after fort, each a sort of inland Gibraltar, and making the Mahratta country in no long time as quiet as Buckinghamshire or Kent? [House of Commons,* December 1878.]

LORD LAWRENCE.

I was led to these remarks by speaking of Mr. Seton-Karr; but Mr. Seton-Karr is not the only distinguished Indian who has been hardly treated by eminent persons

* Parliament met in December, and the Afghan question was immediately raised by an admirable speech from Mr. Whitbread. As he sat down an old and very experienced member said to me, “that is the strongest indictment I ever heard in the House of Commons.” I could well believe it, for since Mr. Whitbread’s grandfather attacked Mr. Pitt for his insane policy in 1792, and Fox made his great Oczakow oration, there had been few better opportunities of the same kind.

[The Afghan Policy of the Beaconsfield Government, 1880.]

during this controversy. Lord Lawrence has fared even worse, and the name of Lord Lawrence is too closely associated with some of the most stirring Indian memories for one who has represented the Indian Government in this House to hear him attacked without pain. In a great foreign city takes place a ceremony which I have never had the good fortune to see, though I know the place well, but which some who hear me may have been fortunate enough to have seen. Year by year the garrison of Seville marches into the great Cathedral, and lowers the colors to the tomb of St. Ferdinand, the king who took the city from the Moors six centuries and more ago. Sir, I think that, at least as long as he lives, Members of both Houses of Parliament would consult their self-respect if, when speaking of the North-West Frontier, they were to lower,—observe, I do not say to strike,—their colors to John Lawrence of the Punjab.

[House of Commons, December 1878.]

THE SCIENTIFIC FRONTIER.

And one word now, Sir, about this scientific Frontier. What is a scientific Frontier? The phrase is a translation from the French, and in that tongue *une frontière scientifique* means a Frontier for which nature has done nothing, and man has been obliged to do everything. The Frontier of France towards the Low Countries, which was defended by Vauban and others, with the line of fortresses which has become so famous, is the *frontière scientifique par excellence*. The Frontier which nature has defended by the Pyrenées is not the *frontière scientifique*. What the Prime Minister meant when he told us that we went to war for a scientific Frontier, goodness or the opposite of goodness only knows; but what he said was, that we went to war for a Frontier which we should be obliged to defend by a costly line of fortresses, leaving, in order to do this, a line of Frontier

which nature had made so strong that very little expenditure would be needed on it, even if an invasion were imminent, and none at all unless invasion were imminent. Under no circumstances could this scientific Frontier be found without taking in the whole of the wild tribes, nor, so far as I can see, without going right over into the valley of the Helmund. But supposing you take in the wild tribes, the proceeding is surely a most surprising one from a military point of view; while from a civil point of view, it is just as if a bee-keeper should annex 10,000 wasps' nests by way of a profitable investment. [House of Commons, December 1878.]

THE SEPOY AND THE COSSACK.

It will not be necessary, even if they do meet, that they should meet as enemies; but, looking to the unjust and erroneous estimates of each others' characters, which prevail in the two countries, it is but too probable, if they meet soon, that sooner or later they will engage in an armed conflict, while Asia stands by in silent amazement. If wise counsels had prevailed, it might have been that the meeting of our Frontiers would not have occurred till that weary group of East European and West Asiatic questions, which are the real cause of the estrangement between us and Russia, had been put in the way of settlement. Never were truer words spoken than some that were spoken to me in 1876 by the late Prince Toherkasky, when he said that Central Asia was to Russia "*l'Orient de fantaisie* while Turkey was *l'Orient sérieux*." [House of Commons, December 1878.]

THE END OF "THE GREAT GAME."

An event once occurred which has not been very much noticed, but which struck Lord Ellenborough, who was Governor-General at the time, very much indeed, and which may be worth mentioning. No sooner had the army which

avenged our disasters in Cabul returned to India, and with all its vast train of followers put the Sutlej between it and the work which it had completed, than that mighty river came down in flood and swept away both the bridges by which it had crossed. There could hardly have been a more fitting ending for a melancholy chapter in our national history. It really almost looked as if a Higher Power had meant to give us a warning not to re-commence to play at the expense either of England or of India what was lightly and wickedly called, ere yet our first ill-fated army crossed the Frontier, the Great Game of Central Asia.

[*House of Commons, December 1878.*]

THE AFGHAN POLICY OF THE BEACONSFIELD GOVERNMENT.

Our Conservative friends would much like to be able to say, as they constantly insinuate, that the Liberals were caught napping, so to speak, by the advance of Russia, that it was a Conservative Administration which came forward and warned the country not to treat the Russian advance as a bugbear, but to look it calmly in the face, and see that, in old Roman phrase, the commonwealth took no damage.

Unhappily, for them, however, they can with truth say nothing of the kind. It was a member of the Liberal party,—a bitter enemy of the policy which has been adopted by the Beaconsfield Administration in dealing with Afghanistan,—who, in July 1868, spoke as follows :—

“I should have been sorry if this conversation had come to an end without my having had an opportunity of expressing my very great regret that one of those untoward accidents to which this House is subject should have prevented the honorable and gallant General, the member for Frome (Sir Henry Rawlinson), bringing before us a subject which will, I fear, however favorably matters may turn out,

exert a sinister influence on many future Indian budgets. I allude, of course, to the recent advance of Russia in Central Asia. I am, as far as possible, from being an alarmist on this question. Some who have given much attention to it say that I am too little of an alarmist; but I do think that even in this crowded Session this matter should not have been passed by. There is a difference between panic and wise foresight. A discussion inaugurated as it would have been by the honorable and gallant General, with whose views some of us do, and some of us do not, agree, but whose acquaintance with a certain portion of the subject we all admit to be great and almost unique, would have enlightened opinion in Europe, strengthened the hands of the Viceroy * in what I consider his wise policy, and, above all, calmed opinion in India. Far be it from us to wish to see a revival of the Anti-Russian feeling of thirty years ago; but let us not deceive ourselves. This is a grave matter. It is for the interest of all of us, and above all for the interest of the Government for the time being, that all the best information and all the best thought about Russia, which exists in Western Europe, should be called out for our guidance, and it is known to every one that the most sovereign means of calling out the best knowledge, and all the best thought, existing in Western Europe on any political subject, is a discussion in the British House of Commons."†

[*The Afghan Policy of the Beaconsfield Government, 1880.*]

LORD NORTHBROOK.

Even in India,—the land of sudden calamity and terrible surprises,—we have had five years of great good fortune,—perhaps the most peaceful and prosperous which have ever

* Lord Lawrence.

† House of Commons, July 27th, 1868.

passed over that peninsula in modern times. Now, at last fortune has turned, and, like our predecessors, we have to deal with one of those natural calamities which human energy may mitigate, but which no power of ours could have prevented. I hope, when that calamity has become a matter of history, it will be found that those who had to deal with it did their duty. I think the Home Government will not be found wanting, and seldom have the destinies of India been watched in Calcutta by a quicker eye, or swayed by a firmer hand, than those of Lord Northbrook.

[*At Elgin, January 1874.*]

LORD LYTTON.

There is one person, and one absent from this country, to whom I will appeal, and that is the Viceroy himself,—not now, not in the excitement of conflict and controversy, but when all is done, when the time comes to him, which must come to all of us, the time described in not the least beautiful of the many beautiful pages he has written—

When the great Ship of Life—
Surviving, though shattered, the tumult and strife
Of earth's angry element,—masts broken short,
Decks drenched, bulwarks beaten,—drives straight into port ;
When heeding no longer the sea's baffled roar,
The mariner turns to his rest ever more.

When that time comes, which is, I trust, separated for him from these dark days by much better work for his country than that in which he has been recently engaged, I cannot think that his answer to the question, “ Was this well done ? ” will be in the affirmative.

[*At Peterhead, September 1879.*]

PART III.

THE COLONIES.

THE COLONIES IN 1880.

The heritage to which the new Government succeeded in the Colonies was by no means so disagreeable as that which it received in India ; but it was not without its difficulties and anxieties. The unhappy forward policy, which had brought upon us such dire calamities in Asia, had been carried also to Africa, and the southern part of the Continent had most unnecessarily been disturbed by a great war. There was, however, this difference between what had occurred in Afghanistan and in Zululand. The policy of the Home Government had led directly to the one set of calamities, but only indirectly to the other. Lord Carnarvon was in too great a hurry, and he was curiously unlucky in the choice of his instruments, if he did not wish to transplant the forward policy to South Africa ; but that, I think, is about all that can, with fairness and charity, be said against him as a departmental chief ; while his immediate successor found the mischief pretty well already done ; and, though I think of course that a great opportunity of enforcing wise views as to the action of Colonial Governors was missed in the spring of 1879, I know that such large questions are decided not by individual Ministers but by Cabinets.

If the general policy, however, of a Cabinet is of a Jingo character, Jingoism will become the order of the day throughout the empire, and the Jingo storm raged in South Africa with great fury. The Basuto war, about which the newspapers are writing now, is, so to speak, the ground-swell which that storm has left behind it. It is the result of the same temper of mind which led to so many other troubles,—the temper of mind which induces people to cut knots instead of untying them. Of course, it was a very unpleasant knot for a peaceful law-abiding community, like the white settlers at the Cape, to know that there was a district of their country in which there were about 500 white men amongst 128,000 blacks, at best just emerged from savagery and armed to the teeth. The Cape Ministry rightly thought that it would be much to the advantage of the blacks that they should fall into the ways of civilised persons, and only carry arms when they formed a part of some force which required to be armed, or when, for some other good reason, they had received permission to do so. Thucydides, the historian, centuries before the Christian era, spoke of the habitual carrying of arms as a characteristic of barbarism, and it stands to reason that this should be so. The Cape Parliament and Government had as perfect a right, if they so willed it, to disarm the Basutos as the English Government and Parliament had to disarm the Highlanders. I need hardly say, by the bye, that they were prepared to pay the full value for all the weapons which were given up. Their mistake was that they did not wait for a convenient season. The forward policy was still in their heads. They must need cut their knot, instead of untying it. They were in no sense guilty of injustice, but they took a most impolitic step. Both the late and the present Government thought that step an impolitic one, and both strongly urged the Cape Ministry not to take it, but beyond that they had neither power nor right to go. Many

things are done by the self-governing colonies, which no British statesman can approve. The protective policy of some of them, for example, is simply disastrous, hindering their progress now and laying up a store of difficulties for the future. You cannot, however, at one and the same time keep people in leading strings and teach them to walk alone. They must make their blunders and learn by them just as we have done. Our experience and advice may help to recall them sooner from blundering, but we cannot hope to prevent it altogether. Some have thought that, if Sir Bartle Frere had been recalled the moment the new Government came into office, there would have been no Basuto War; but those who think so mistake dates. The disarmament proclamation was issued as far back as April 6, and, although Sir Bartle Frere was no doubt entirely in favour of it, the Cape Ministry and the Cape Parliament were enthusiastically in favour of it, quite independently of him. Sir Bartle Frere's influence at the Cape was considerable, but it had its limits. He was strongly in favour of confederation. Every motive that could influence a public man induced him to work for confederation, and he was known to be backed in his support of it by both political parties and by all statesmen at home without exception. Yet the Cape Ministry and Sir Bartle Frere together utterly failed in their confederation proposal, whereas the Basuto disarmament was supported in the Cape House of Assembly, as late as the month of June, by a majority of 37 to 28, which, as that Assembly consists of only 68 members, is equivalent to a majority of 80 in this country. It was energetically opposed by a section of the House, but that section was disastrously beaten.

There is no more delicate ground for home politicians to tread in dealing with the colonies than the question of the relations between the white race and the masses of the

coloured population, for we are dealing in perfect security with men who are living in constant fear, and no passion is fiercer than fear. If we mean to preserve an influence for the advantage of the coloured masses, we must be very careful not to allow the white race to fancy, as they are but too apt to do, that we take sides against them. It would have been impossible to have gone further than Lord Kimberley did without making matters infinitely worse instead of better. I have read and listened to suggestions of late for the government of South Africa, which would have made George Grenville's hair stand on end.

Some little misconception, by the way, has arisen with reference to a statement made by Lord Kimberley to a deputation. It has been supposed that he meant to say that the Natal Government had adopted, with reference to its natives, precisely the same policy which the Cape has adopted with reference to the Basutos. That, however, was not so. Lord Kimberley was arguing that it would not have contented the Basutos to have put them under Natal, because in Natal they would have been subject to similar restrictions as to arms to those which the Cape Government is trying to impose on them. That contention was strictly correct. The Natal Government has for many years pursued the policy of preventing, as far as it could, guns getting into native hands. It has passed no less than ten laws for that purpose. And the Basutos knew this so well that, at their Pitso or informal Parliament in 1879, a Basuto chief said, "We refused to be annexed to Natal, because we well knew that the Natal Government disarmed the natives, and we therefore elected to be annexed to the Cape." That statement had no historical value, but it shows what the Basutos feel about the Natal system. Where the Cape Government erred, in Lord Kimberley's view, was in their mode of disarming, in trying to do by a *coup-de-main*, and at a most unlucky moment, what the

Natal Government has effected by the long and steady pressure of prevention. If any one wants to see how that pressure works in practice, he had better look at Mr. Trollope's account of his visit to South Africa. No doubt there are more arms in the hands of Natal natives than the law permits; but I daresay that the Cape Government would have been quite satisfied if, by its disarmament policy, it had brought down the number of arms in Basutoland to the Natal proportion.

An eminent person, who, although he is the son of Charles, Earl Grey, who did so much for the liberties of this country, has never been able to understand that the people of Greater Britain have the liberty-loving instincts of the people of Great Britain, has returned to the charge in this number of the *Nineteenth Century*, and urges, as he has frequently urged before, that the Liberals committed a great error in giving the people of Cape Colony a right to manage their own affairs. The answer to that is simply this. Government in the Cape Colony had, some ten years ago, come to a dead-lock. It was absolutely necessary to alter the constitution, which was half-way between despotism and self-government,—to go back to despotism or forward to self-government. The Colony was asked if it would like to go back to despotism and become what is called a Crown Colony, that is, a Colony ruled from England by the Colonial Minister of the day. For small communities, especially when there is only a limited number of Europeans, that is an excellent form of Government, and several of the West India islands have, in our own times, given up impracticable constitutions and become Crown Colonies. But we should all have thought very badly of the people of the Cape Colony if they had elected to have their affairs taken absolutely out of their own hands. As, then, they rejected that proposition, and the existing state of things was intolerable, there was nothing for it but to accept

the only alternative, and give them self-government. On the whole, the experiment has answered extremely well. It has answered well in the main even on that delicate point of the relation of the white and the black races. I need hardly remind such an audience as I address that the Cape Colony had nothing to do with the Zulu War. That was the affair partly of the Imperial Government and partly of the Colony of Natal.

But the self-government of the Cape Colonists has been in one respect defective. They have had a British force, and the strong arm of the mother country to rely upon. It would be intolerable that the state of things which has hitherto existed should go on; that they should make the errors in policy which lead to wars; and that we should supply the troops to get them out of the consequences of their errors. Both the late and the present Secretaries of State warned them, however, that that was not to be in this case. If they brought on a war by insisting on the disarming of the Basutos, they must fight out that war by their own strength, and thus far, I am bound to say, they have shown the most thorough determination to do so. Nor can I see how the Imperial Government is to be drawn into the trouble, unless the area of war extending beyond Cape Colony should involve districts of South Africa, for which the Imperial and not the Cape Government is responsible. That would raise a new set of questions, which we need not enter upon until they arise; but for all our sakes it is to be hoped that they may not arise; and then what will happen will, I trust, be this. The Cape Government, after having vindicated the supremacy of the law, to which all must bow, even the most interesting and admired of savages and barbarians, as well as more civilised persons, will then, having suffered grievously in pocket as well as in other ways, make reasonable arrangements about the Basutos and other black races with which

they are in immediate contact, and things will go on as smoothly as they do in Canada or New Zealand. But, remember, this is only what we hope and wish. Wherever war raises its head, there the chapter of accidents is open, and you must not understand me as prophesying anything, but only as expressing hopes which the information in the possession of the Government makes it reasonable for us to indulge. One thing I do venture to prophesy, and that is, that the present Government will not be wanting in caution and prudence in the management of its Colonial affairs.

OUR COLONIAL EMPIRE.

Nor do I think we shall show any lack of the Imperial spirit; but, when I speak of the Imperial spirit, I do not allude to that sort of Imperial spirit of which we heard so much a few years ago, when Captain Sword was always marching across other people's frontiers to the tune of "Over the hills and far away," cutting down persons with whom we had no reasonable cause of quarrel as he went. I am speaking of that Imperial spirit whose first impulse is to try to make the most of the Empire we have got, which, beginning by a clear conception of what that Empire is, goes on to conceive what, if wisely ruled, it may be, and then tries to rule it wisely. The blood-and-thunder school of Imperialists never seems to comprehend what that Empire is which they are so anxious to increase by foul means as well as by fair. Let me try to bring it home to you in a few sentences. British India is, you know, as big as England, France, Germany, Austria, Spain, Turkey, and, to cut a long story short, nearly the whole of Continental Europe put together, without Russia. Well, but British India is about the size of the single colony of Western Australia, and the Australian island continent, every

inch of which is ours, is about three times as big as Western Australia, and, if you take up the whole of that huge island continent, and put it down on the top of the Dominion of Canada, to which have been added, since we came into office, all the North American dominions of the Crown which did not already belong to it, except Newfoundland, it could stand, colossal as it is, like a cup upon a saucer. And, after you have put aside the Dominion of Canada and the five gigantic colonies which make up Australia, you have still some forty colonies over and above, ranging from mere specks, like Heligoland, which would make a moderate gentleman's park, through places like many of the West India islands, which are about the size of a good nobleman's estate, up to New Zealand, which is somewhat bigger than the British Isles, and South Africa, on which you might drop New Zealands about and yet have plenty of room to spare. But great as is the variety of size, still greater is the variety of the material conditions of life, from the cold of the Arctic and Antarctic regions to the heat of the Equator, from the immense unbroken mass of land through which the telegraph runs to Adelaide to the shores of the almost innumerable islands, belonging to this or that colonial group, which are scattered about the globe, almost innumerable, I say, and the expression will not be thought exaggerated, when I remind you that even Mauritius, which itself is smaller than Surrey, has satellite dependencies all over the Indian Ocean.

As are the varieties of the material conditions of life, even so is the variety of the products; and it is with a view to bringing home to the mind of our people what an illimitable field there is in our colonies for the growth of every kind of useful product and the development of every imaginable industry, that many persons have been anxious to see the establishment of a great Colonial Museum in the Metropolis, to be one vast book of reference for all the commercial classes

in the country.* The Indian Museum has grown from small and humble beginnings in Leadenhall Street to be one of the most attractive and valuable institutions in London, but a similar museum for the colonies is still a thing of the future. Yet further, the variety of the material conditions and of the products of the colonies is not a whit greater than the variety

* COLONIAL AND INDIAN MUSEUM.

In the Colonial Museum building there would be, first, the museum proper ; secondly, an adequate colonial library ; and, thirdly, rooms for the agents general, who have now to pay a very large sum annually for accommodation in the neighbourhood of this House. It always seems a most surprising thing to foreigners, and it would seem a most surprising thing to ourselves, if we were not so broken into anomalies of all sorts, that there is no place in this city where can be obtained anything like an adequate idea of what sort of places the English Colonies and dependencies really are. Why, it is extremely difficult even for ourselves, for members of Parliament with every sort of social advantage, to get anything like a good idea of the actualities of a colony. Supposing any of us wanted, for example, to get an accurate notion of the present state of Tasmania, he would find it anything but an easy task, even after putting himself in communication with our librarian here, and with the Geographical Society. There are, it must be remembered, a variety of questions which have nothing to do with politics, which persons, not directly supporting whatever Government happens to be for the moment in power, would be unwilling to trouble the Colonial Office with ; and even if they did, the Colonial Office has not the appliances or organisation necessary for supplying such information at all generally. We want a place to which, not only members of Parliament and other privileged persons, but all persons can go and learn without cost and without trouble what our colonies and dependencies are, where they are, what sort of things they produce, what chances the inquirers or persons in whom they may be interested have of bettering their condition or pushing their fortunes in those countries, what attractive advertisements with regard to our colonies and dependencies are mere Wills-o'-the-Wisp, what little known and unregarded resources of wealth there may be in those regions which have not yet received bold advertisement.

What we want is a place, to the creation of which the mother country on the one hand, her colonies and dependencies on the other, shall contribute, the object of which shall be to bring them nearer each to each for the common advantage of all. It appears to me that there is hardly any knowledge which is more likely to be useful to a British citizen, whether born in the colonies, India, or at home, than a wide knowledge of the gigantic Empire to which he belongs. That knowledge, and the feelings that naturally come of it, are true Imperialism, the best antidote to false Imperialism, the "bloody meddlesomeness," which is the offspring of igno-

of the races which inhabit them, or than the variety of influences under which even the higher races among them have grown up. A part of the truth, but only part of it, is very vividly set forth in the following passage, which is quite true in spirit, if not exactly in letter, at this moment, though it was penned a generation ago:—"At this moment there are few

rance, at the centre of affairs, acted on by self-seeking on the far-off frontiers of the Empire. How many of us, however, even of us I say, in this great and powerful assemblage have adequate knowledge of these things. Is there one of us that has? I very much doubt it. There are honorable and right honorable members who know individual colonies and dependencies well. There are Anglo-Indians, there are Australians amongst us. There are some honorable members who have made a rapid journey through many of the colonies and dependencies. One honorable member, the honorable member for Chelsea, has written very brilliantly about not a few of them, but that was more than a decade ago, and a decade in the self-governing colonies is an eternity. The late Sir Arthur Helps used to tell a story which is worth repeating. At one moment when Lord Palmerston was making some arrangements for filling up vacant offices, a difficulty arose as to who was to be Colonial Secretary. Lord Palmerston said, "I think I'll take the office myself,"—and the other people who were present, immediately after taking their leave,—he said to Sir Arthur, "Just stay a little with me, and we'll look at the maps and see where these places are." Well, of course, that was rather a caricature of the state of his lordship's mind; but is it not, nevertheless, perfectly and painfully true,—I put it to every man who hears me on both sides if it is not true,—that, considering our enormous power and our enormous responsibilities, we all know a great deal too little about our colonies and dependencies? nor do I see how it can ever be otherwise unless, in some perfectly accessible place where he who runs may read, we have brought before us without any investigation, nay, forced upon our notice, the actualities of these countries. Persons, Sir, who walk in the dark will inevitably stumble, and we deal in our colonies and dependencies with interests so gigantic that we can hardly make the smallest stumble without its costing us more in hard money than it would cost to keep up such an institution as I contemplate for ten years, considerable though the cost would no doubt be.

I may be told, however, that these views are the views merely of a small section of persons who have a belief in knowledge,—a most unpopular belief in some quarters,—or take a special interest in India and the colonies. I deny that *in toto*. They are, I maintain, views, very largely prevailing amongst the commercial classes of this country. Indeed, it was the mercantile community which first put into practice the principle which I am defending, of co-operation between England and her dependencies in matters important to the material prosperity of both.

[House of Commons, 31st July 1879.]

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of the systems of legislation, either of ancient or modern times, which are not in force as living law in the British Empire. Menu and Muhammad decide the civil rights of the Hindu and the Mussulman, and an appeal from India compels our Privy Councillors to consult the Koran and the Puranas as authorities at Whitehall. In the Norman Isles, the severed portions of the domain of the conqueror, the barbaric costumal framed by the justiciary still guides the grand bailiff and the seneschal who dispense the equity of Rollo, now forgotten, in the hall of Rouen. Canada cherishes the volumes which have been cast forth from the Palais de Justice, and the legitimate representatives of the proud and learned Parliament of Paris are found in the Court-House of a Colonial town. Banished from the flowery meadows of the Seine, the *ordonnances* expounded by St. Louis under the oak tree at Vincennes constitute the tenures of land on the gulf of St. Lawrence. In the opposite hemisphere, we bestow an equal protection upon the Code Napoleon. Our Sovereign appoints her *alcaldes* and her *corregidores* in the Indies of Columbus, while her land-rosts in Southern Africa are guided by the placets of the departed Republic of the Netherlands."

Something of this want of appreciation of the Empire we have got, this passion for remaining always in a narrow circle fussing about comparatively trifling squabbles on the Continent, comes from a habit of thought which has descended to us from the days when we were only a sort of appendage to Europe. What good English enthusiasm have I not seen wasted over the question of Chablais and Faucigny or in the struggle against the inevitable in the Elbe Duchies; but some of it is due, no doubt, to the aristocratic tendencies of the classes from whom are taken the actual transactors of affairs in this country. The men of British race who people our colonies are not sprung from the higher strata of our society; very often not indeed from its middle strata. That accounts

for a good deal of want of interest, and for a good deal of prejudice, but there is another cause at work. The vast majority of our colonists are still in contact with the rough facts of life. They are still mainly in quest of that elementary well-being which is essential as the foundation of all higher forms of well-being. They have not had time to develop the higher intellectual gifts and graces. I have never heard less complimentary remarks made about colonists by any politician of aristocratic tendencies than I have heard made by a man who would have been not the least brilliant guest at the last supper of the Girondins, as he would assuredly have been not the least brave the next morning. All talk of that kind, however, from such lips, comes from a mere momentary ignoring of the essential and necessary facts of the case. Give the colonists time, and you will see in all directions fruits and flowers of intellect quite equal to any that have been produced in the Old World. In Lord Beaconsfield's new book there is a curiously characteristic sneer at the Americans. "Whatever they may be," he says, "they will always be colonial. What is colonial necessarily lacks originality." Of course it does at first. That is a mere truism. No doubt, the people they left behind thought that the Scandinavian, or German, or Norman settlers on the shores of this country lacked originality, but the descendants of these people would hardly say that the offspring of those colonists lacked originality now. Only wait for the specialising influences to work, and there will be no reason to complain of any want of originality in our colonies.

A measure of the strength of those specialising influences acting on the mind of a very highly-educated European is given in Lord Dufferin's Canadian speeches. What have we got in our literature exactly like them? The ring is, to my ear at least, quite a new one! These specialising influences will work much faster as education gets more

intelligent, as more care is taken to awake the interest of the rising generation in the objects around it, and to direct instruction to meet special wants. Let me give an illustration of what I mean. If the reading books in your schools all over the Empire were to be for ever the same as those at home, it would no doubt tend to foster a want of originality. But people are awaking to the truth, sufficiently obvious when it is once stated, that the reading books which may be highly appropriate to Aberdeenshire or Devon are ludicrously inappropriate to countries where December is the hottest month in the year, or to places where a child is as likely to see a daisy or a buttercup as we are likely to meet a Bengal tiger fetching a walk around the ruins of Inverurie or Ravenscraig. Then, remember, that in many of our colonies there is no trace of some of the most important institutions which exist here. Established churches, denominational schools, hereditary aristocracies may be good or may be bad influences, but at least they are powerful ones. Men who have grown up without them will tend to diverge pretty widely from the type of men who have grown up in the midst of them. After all, everything in those countries is, as compared with the Old World, merely of yesterday. The place where the great Melbourne Exhibition now stands was a pathless wilderness when some whom I am now addressing had already reached manhood. Is it strange that they should not yet have developed those higher literary and artistic gifts which make the poetry of national life, and live when all else is forgotten? But there is already promise even of these. Certainly, the most remarkable new lines I have come across for some time, always excepting the latest of Mr. Lyall's poems, the products themselves of a form of colonial, that is to say, of Anglo-Indian society, were some, by whom I know not, which were cut out of an Australian paper in Calcutta. "Who can the author of this be?"

said a foreign friend of mine, as I was passing across the Continent on my way to India, putting into my hands a letter of quite extraordinary beauty. "I have not the faintest conception," I said, "but I daresay I can find out." I did find out in a few months, and the writer was the daughter of a tradesman in a New Zealand provincial town. Any one who would take the pains and had the opportunity might, I am sure, collect many such indications of what will be in those countries. I wish some competent person would do so,—Mr. Charles Pearson, for example, whose report upon the education of Victoria is itself enough for a reputation,—he who did so would do much to dispel prejudice and promote good feeling. But I must not detain you too long upon a single subject, just because my own mind happens to be full of it, though, considering that hardly a colonial Ministry is formed without a Scotchman, the subject comes pretty closely home to us.

[*At Peterhead, September 1880.*]

THE COLONIES IN 1881.

I now come to the department with whose affairs I have recently been immediately connected. In addressing the constituency last year, I tried to give you, in a single sentence, some idea of the enormous size of the Empire, over which the Colonial Secretary, for the time being, presides. Taking British India, itself as large as France, Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, Italy, Germany, Austria, Greece, Turkey, Bulgaria, Servia, and Scandinavia, all put together, as a unit of measurement, I showed you that British India was somewhat smaller than Western Australia, which is only one of the five huge colonies which make up the vast island continent of Australia. I then pointed out that Australia, if set down upon Her Majesty's dominions in North America, would stand in them as a cup stands in its

saucer, and that when you have put on one side Australia and the Dominion of Canada, you have still some forty colonies, ranging from mere specks to vast countries like New Zealand, or still vaster ones like South Africa, on which you could strew New Zealands about and still have room to spare. Up to this time, this huge Empire has excited but little attention, and has not at all caught the imagination even of highly-educated people at home. But yet, of all the concerns which this country has got on its hands, this is surely the biggest, for it is engaged through its agents, through agents working for the most part out of sight, in moulding the future of half the world. Long before the year 2000, it will be generally recognised that of all the gigantic tasks which England has accomplished, this one of filling the world with copies of herself is the most extraordinary.

It has always been my habit, when I have wished to understand any business with which I was occupied, to try to write about it, and I had made, when I left the Colonial Office, some considerable progress with a book which I had proposed some eighteen months hence to dedicate to you, as I did thirteen years ago a somewhat similar book, in which, under the title of "A Political Survey," I passed in review the various communities with which we carry on relations through the Foreign Office. My idea was to put together a sketch which would lay before the reader the actualities of the colonies, leaving him to study their history up to the present time in the excellent book by Mr. Payne on the History of European colonies, and avoiding, of course, taking any side in controverted questions. That project has naturally been laid aside, but perhaps my mentioning it here may put it into the head of some one to carry it into effect. I do not think such a book could be very easily written by any one who was not at the Colonial

Office, who had not at his command the great resources of that admirably managed department.

Well, in all this infant world, Her Majesty's present advisers have had pretty quiet times, except in South Africa, and about it I will say nothing, because any one who cares to turn to the *Fortnightly Review* for this month will see, under the title "South Africa, an unspoken speech," the remarks which I should have made if the debate on the Transvaal had come on when it was originally thought it would come on, and not after I had left Parliament. That speech is in the form of a reply to Lord Cairns, the only member of the Opposition who has, so far as I know, said anything about the Transvaal which required a detailed reply; and I should like to direct the attention of any one who is interested in that subject to the fact that Lord Cairns's able speech, which exhausts the case against the Government, has been published in a pamphlet, and can be bought for a trifle. We were threatened for a few weeks with a new Ashantee war, but the prompt action taken by the authorities on the spot and at home prevented mischief. Almost all through the world, the year 1879 was a bad one for trade, and few or none of the colonies escaped the general depression; but almost everywhere the thermometer of prosperity has latterly been rising a little, and the news which has come to Downing Street has been more cheerful.

With regard to some of the colonies, I think there is habitually a notion in the public mind that they are less prosperous than they actually are. There is Jamaica, for instance. I am sure, till I went to the Colonial Office, I had thought Jamaica in a far worse state than it is. The progress which that island has made since the abolition of the ridiculous government under which it languished half a generation ago, has been most remarkable. As a rule, in fact, the Crown colonies, the colonies which are governed

from home, are doing well. Pray do not understand me to say that they are doing well necessarily *because* they are Crown colonies. On the contrary, wherever you can have a colony governed by itself, through the usual organs of a responsible Government, I greatly prefer it. You cannot have much greater prosperity than you have in such a self-governing colony as New South Wales, where more than elsewhere glorious natural advantages and wise general arrangements are allowed to have free play without the interference of false economical theories. The chief work of the Colonial Office for the last generation has been to turn angry and jealous dependencies into free nations, enthusiastically devoted to the British Crown, and going "from strength to strength."

If you want to have an example of a Crown colony which no good Government from home, unless aided by constant contributions from John Bull, will make even decently prosperous, you may look for a moment at that wretched Cyprus. England laughed at Cyprus all through the last election; but, alas! England did not then at all realise what a wolf she had got by the ears in that island. You know it was handed over to the Colonial Office last December, so that I have had to occupy myself a good deal with its affairs, and I should just like to state one or two facts about them, which are not as generally known as they ought to be. When we came to examine our new colony, we found that Cyprus had for ages been as badly governed as most parts of the Turkish dominions; that its people were miserably poor; that its natural resources, though respectable, were not exceptional, or, in other words, that it was pretty much like the other countries round the eastern basin of the Mediterranean, except Egypt; that its population was unequally divided between two religions and two races, the Greeks and the Turks; that that population was, for the

most part, gentle and easily governed, but that there was, nevertheless, a good deal of serious crime; that education was in so backward a state as to make it quite out of the question, for some time, to get natives to fill difficult positions in the administration; that almost every existing institution in the country required to be thoroughly overhauled; and many new ones to be created; that the machinery invented for the government of the island when this country first took it over, was not suited for its permanent management; that to all questions relating to Cyprus our abnormal tenure of the island moved, so to speak, two previous questions: Are we legally entitled to do this? Have we money to do this? I will not enlarge on the first of these previous questions, but the second is of such importance that I must detain you for a few minutes upon it. We found, then, that Cyprus was, not to mince matters, quite unable to make ends meet if Parliament did not come to the rescue. You saw that the House of Commons voted the other day a large sum to help it to get along. I shall be agreeably surprised if Cyprus, after paying the gigantic tribute to the Porte which the late Government bound us to pay, has much more than between £70,000 and £80,000 one year with another to pay everything,—all the administration, from the High Commissioner down to the humblest clerk; all the judicial establishment, from the principal judge to the lowest bailiff; all the police, all the prisons, all the education, Post Office, Public Works, everything, in fact, that makes civilised society possible. If we had not to pay the crushing tribute to the Porte, we could manage, without asking for British aid, to make a respectable colony of it, say a pretty good West India Island, and out of its own resources; but, as it is, that seems out of the question, however much we may reduce establishments and control public works. * * * Of course,

the Colonial Office is doing, and will do, all that is possible to reduce expenditure, but no reduction will meet the case. The country would not like Cyprus governed, if we are to be responsible for it, on a less efficient system than that which we apply in our poorest colonies. Honest administration; courts where bribery is not the rule; tolerable safety to life and property; some beginnings of elementary education; some cleansing of towns and the like, are pressing necessities if our administration is to be better than that of the Turks, who neglected almost every duty of Government, thereby no doubt obtaining a surplus; but these necessities, however pressing, are not to be got for so large and so frightfully backward a country out of £70,000 or £80,000 a-year. Perhaps, however, some one may say "raise more taxation." I do not think the Colonial Office will see its way to do that. Possibly, though hardly probably, the representative element which it is proposed to introduce may help it to do so; but, as at present advised, I think any revision of the taxation will result in a slight diminution of our revenue, and the taxation is being revised. Much has been already done since England took the island in improving the fiscal system. Export duties are abolished; import duties on cereals are abolished; the hateful and horrible tithe farming has been abolished. The military exemption tax, which was confined to Christians, has been lowered and made general. A vexatious fishing tax has been abolished; but I suspect that the Colonial Office is far from being yet satisfied with the fiscal arrangements of Cyprus. You will observe that I am pitching our aims and hopes very low, that I am adopting as a model our poorest colonies, out of the sight of Europe. Cyprus, however, is a colony under the eyes of Europe,—a colony which was, we are told, to be governed so as to be an example to mankind, how Asia Minor, and I know not what

other broad lands, were to be administered. And you will remark further that I have not said a word about the vast sums that would have to be expended if Cyprus were to be made a place of arms; the grand and stately city of barracks, for example, that would have to grow up on the cool uplands of the interior, filled with soldiers ready to march to Bagdad, or Heaven only knows where. Not one word have I said about the mighty port which we once heard of, and which would cost hundreds of thousands. We are too poor this year, an exceptionally good year, even to make a pier at Larnaca, at a cost of under £4,000. If John Bull ever has another jingo fit, and is persuaded to make a great war-harbour at Famagousta, properly fortified and decently healthy, he will see uncommonly little change out of three quarters of a million. An author, whose name will long be connected with Cyprus, has the following passage:—"The being* who would be content with nothing less than communing with celestial powers in sacred climes, standing at a tavern window, gazing on the moonlit mud-banks of the barbarous Thames,—a river neither angel nor prophet had ever visited. Before him, softened by the hour, was the Isle of Dogs! The Isle of Dogs! It should at least be Cyprus!"

Well, gentlemen, the Cyprus I am dreaming of is not the Cyprus of romance, but a very humble Isle of Dogs' sort of Cyprus, and I say that you cannot hope to bring Cyprus up even to an Isle of Dogs' standard on £70,000 or £80,000 a-year, and I do not believe that this country will be satisfied with anything lower than an Isle of Dogs' standard in a British colony. I think there can be no doubt that the British rule has already been very beneficial to a but lately down-trodden and wretched people. To have introduced vaccination, checked the locusts and the cattle

* Tancred.

plague, and arrested the depreciation of the currency goes for something. I really believe that some of the peasantry are grateful, but every one knows how soon the horrors of the past are forgotten, and every adventurer who does not get exactly the place he likes, and who can put two sentences together, will soon denounce the British Government of Cyprus in all Greek-speaking lands as an oppression, compared to which the proceedings of Athens towards Melos were mild and moderate. [*At Banff, September 1881.*]

SOUTH AFRICA IN 1881.

AN UNSPOKEN SPEECH.*

It now becomes my duty to explain the policy which Her Majesty's Government has adopted in this very difficult matter, and to reply to the main objections which have been urged against it, both here and elsewhere.

In order to do this it is necessary to ask how we come to be ruling some 500,000 square miles in Southern Africa.

That huge territory, equal to four or five times the area of the British Isles, was not acquired in consequence of any deliberate scheme of national policy; there was no popular demand for its acquisition, and no statesman counselled it. We have come into possession of our dominions in that part of the world by a series of historical accidents, which began as late as the days of the fathers of most of us, and within the memory of a good many people who are still living, when, in 1806, Governor Janssens capitulated to Sir David Baird.

If the men of that day could have foreseen the future, there is, I suppose, very little doubt that they would have been satisfied with retaining for the British Crown, Cape Town and Simon's Bay, with a moderate piece of territory in their neighbourhood, and would have created all north of their

* Prepared in the early summer for the debate on the Transvaal which, frequently postponed, did not take place till I had left Parliament.

frontier line into a Dutch Free State, which would have been left to pursue what policy it pleased, to have been content with its then very narrow limits, or to have gone forward, conquering and civilising in a rude and imperfect way, till it got to regions in which white men could not permanently establish themselves.

Unhappily, however, the men of the early days of this century no more possessed the gift of prophecy than do their descendants. They took over the Dutch settlements just as they were, "with their engagements;" and these engagements have led us on, and on, and on, till we find ourselves masters of a gigantic country, which brings us no direct profit, much direct loss, not any very large amount of indirect profit, and few, indeed, of the things which men or nations sigh for, except the bare name of Empire, in return for infinite anxieties and much responsibility.

We have been brought to this mainly by the action, reaction, and interaction of two forces. First, the enterprise and vigour of the Dutch and the English, both very strong races, which have desired to press always forward to the north, in search of new fields of gain or comfort. Secondly, by the humanitarian impulses amongst our own people, which have become so very strong during the period which has elapsed since the taking of the Cape, and which have compelled Government after Government to follow the Dutch and English adventurers with law and administration, in order that they might not exterminate or enslave the natives, in accordance with their natural instincts or those maxims of polity which the South African Dutchman has for ages founded upon the history of the Old Testament. The outcome of these two forces, acting upon successive English administrations, brought about the state of things in South Africa which we found when we came into office a year ago, and which I think I can sum up in a very few sentences.

We found the vast territory to which I have alluded peopled by two races, natives and white men. We found that the natives, instead of showing any tendency, as they have done in other parts of the world,—in America, in Australia, in New Zealand, for example,—to disappear before the white man, were, on the contrary, sure not only to stand their ground in point of numbers, but to increase the disproportion between their numbers and those of the white race. We found that white race divided into two great sections, the English and the Dutch. Of these, the Dutch outnumbered the English by about two to one; and although the English were the more enterprising, the spirit of the Dutch had been raised by various causes, and not least by the very considerable success which had attended the experiment of the concession of perfect independence to the Orange Free State, something less than a generation ago. The first conclusion which we drew from the examination of the state of affairs in South Africa, as it was in the spring of 1880, was, that the thing before all others necessary for South Africa, in the presence of the constant increase of numbers amongst the natives, was a perfectly good understanding between the two sections of the white race.

The next thing which we observed was, that a project, which had been set on foot by our predecessors for the confederation of the whole of South Africa, was under consideration in the colonies concerned. We ardently desired that this confederation *should*, though I cannot say we much believed that it *would* come about, for it was quite clear that until some confederation, or union in one form or another, of the South African colonies could be brought into existence there would be constant trouble of all kinds, and the mother country would never be rid of the thankless task of checking here, interfering there, and paying every few years millions and millions of money for wars in which she had only a

constructive and technical interest. When we came into office a decisive vote upon this subject of confederation was just about to be taken in the Cape Parliament, and it was perfectly obvious that, as regards the southern part of our South African territories, the one all-important duty was to watch and wait until we saw what the result of the approaching vote would be, for on that vote must depend the policy of the mother country in that part of its South African dominions.

In the northern part of our South African dominions we found, when we came into office, that great and violent changes had been taking place. A war of considerable magnitude had been waged upon the Natal frontier with a tribe which, when we went out of office in 1874, had been on perfectly good terms with us. The whole of the Transvaal, which we left an independent State in 1874, had been annexed, and a war of less magnitude, but still of some importance, had been carried on by Her Majesty's troops against the native chief Secocoeni.

I have said nothing of the wars that had been going forward in the Cape Colony, but, as we all know, there had been wars, and the general result of the whole of our survey of the 500,000 square miles of British territory in South Africa, was that everywhere there had been confusion, everywhere trouble, and that the one great thing that was wanted for South Africa was rest. Our desire accordingly was to interfere as little as we could, to continue working in the same spirit as that in which Sir Michael Hicks Beach had worked, as distinguished from the perfectly well-intentioned, but, as I must be permitted to think, most unfortunate spirit which animated his immediate predecessor, Lord Carnarvon. We wished, in fact, to continue and to enforce a sedative policy, while we utterly repudiated the irritant or stimulant policy, which, carried into effect under

the orders of Lord Carnarvon, is mainly associated in the public mind with the names of Sir Bartle Frere and Sir Theophilus Shepstone.

Possessed by this desire not to introduce any new element of confusion into South Africa, we firmly resisted the pressure of some of our friends instantly to recall Sir Bartle Frere, with the certain result of destroying what little chance there was of a vote in the Cape Parliament favorable to confederation; we determined not to annul the annexation of the Transvaal; we did not favor the idea entertained by some that a roving Commission should be sent out to look into all South African questions, and we did not think it necessary to cancel the mandates which had been given by our predecessors to Sir Owen Lanyon to govern the Transvaal, to Sir George Colley to govern Natal, to look after the Zulu settlement, and to supervise the doings of Sir Owen Lanyon at Pretoria.

Our endeavour for the first few weeks that we were in office, so far as South Africa was concerned, was to introduce no change. We made it clear to the Cape and to Natal that, although confederation was no project of ours, we should only be too delighted to see it come about, and we told the Transvaal that, although the annexation could not be annulled, we should embrace the very first occasion to give it absolute self-government as far as the white inhabitants were concerned, provided only it would agree to leave us what amounted to little more than a control of its foreign relations and native policy.

Of course honorable gentlemen opposite cannot blame us for this decision, but some honorable gentlemen on our own side who voted with the honorable member for Liskeard, have a right to do so, and in order to have the whole case clearly before the House, I may explain in a few sentences why we did not annul the annexation. In the first place, all the

evidence which we found at the Colonial Office made in favor of the theory that the country was gradually settling down. Sir Garnet Wolseley, who had at one time entertained misgivings, not only desired to come away, which he, a brilliant and faithful soldier, certainly would not have done if he had believed that there would be any work for the soldier, but wrote in the most positive manner in favor of the view that all was going well. On March 2nd, 1880, he said :

“As a consequence of the conviction thus established of the unyielding resolution of the British Government there is, I believe, a growing desire, certainly amongst the more intelligent, and probably amongst the majority of the malcontents, for the conclusion of the agitation which is now beginning to appear to them as a fruitless and dangerous trouble.”

On March 9th he said :

“When all classes are convinced of the irrevocability of the annexation, of which I have lost no opportunity of assuring them, and come also to understand that it is our wish not only to rule justly, but to conciliate the people in every way compatible with the due maintenance of our authority, disaffection and agitation will, I believe, most surely die out.”

On April 10th he gave his final impression of the prospects of the country as follows :—

“Reports from all quarters of the Transvaal sustain the opinion that the people being thoroughly weary of the uncertainty and the troubles attendant upon opposition to the Government, and seeing no hope of any successful issue from the dangerous measures in which they have been induced to place confidence, have determined to renounce all further disturbing action, and to return to the peaceful cares of their rural life, which is already beginning to suffer from the continuance of political irritation.”

Sir Owen Lanyon took precisely the same line. He did not give us the slightest hint that he was uneasy.

Not only did the persons who were responsible for keeping the Home Government informed take this view in their correspondence with the Colonial Office, but persons speaking in the heart of the country, at Pretoria, did the same. I will quote a passage, which curiously illustrates this, from a speech which was delivered by Mr. Hudson, the Colonial Secretary at Pretoria, soon after we came into office, and which, although it was not before us in so many words at the moment it was decided to retain the territory, a remark which I think applies to some of the other observations I have quoted, well reflects the tone that was taken by all the officials in the Transvaal in the spring of last year, and illustrates the "climate of opinion" amidst which we found ourselves.

Mr. Hudson spoke as follows :—

"Take the Transvaal, it certainly does desire to preserve its autonomy, and though it may not be ripe as yet for the introduction of responsible or party government, it is fast emerging from its past political and financial difficulties, and deriving a revenue mainly from direct and internal taxation, more than sufficient to meet its expenditure. Its known illimitable wealth, now buried and requiring only to be unearthed, and its glorious position as the highway to Central Africa, are attracting to it public attention both here and abroad, and hence it is, with a conviction of its great future, that the people of the Transvaal would be loth to part with self-government under a provincial legislature. It requires only the railway from Delagoa Bay—for the interest and maintenance of which a select committee of its legislature has produced evidence to show its ability to pay—to place this province in the position of early undertaking its self-government, and to make it form an important factor, under

confederation, in assisting to relieve the Imperial Government from future responsibilities, and in consolidating British power in South Africa to the advantage of its inhabitants."

But this was not merely the tone of the officials. Here is an extract from a speech made in the same debate by a non-official member, anything but inclined to give an indiscriminating support to Sir Owen Lanyon's administration, which, in its turn, illustrates the view that was generally taken by the non-official portion of the British population.

On the 7th of June, speaking in the Legislative Assembly, Mr. White said :

"There is still a condition alleged by some to the carrying out of this confederation, and that is the present state of this country ; but I think, Sir, that the statements made relative to the condition of the Transvaal are not true statements of that condition. I am sure that the House will agree with me when I say that the present state of the Transvaal is perhaps the most tranquil state that it has enjoyed since the annexation. It is true there are a few agitators who are stumping the country, and there are a few newspapers which advocate the views of these agitators, but I state here without fear of contradiction that the thinking portion of the inhabitants of this State are content with their present condition."

Of course, I am aware that the non-official members were not elected representatives, but that is not my point. I wish to show that in the heart of the Transvaal people who, like this Mr. White, were by no means inclined *jurare in verba* of the Government, as he showed by directly opposing it in the autumn, took the view that all was well.

These were very strong and positive testimonies to set against the Boer petitions, which we were assured were merely the work of a limited number of agitators, and by no means represented the real feeling even of the Boer, much

less of the Native or British population. Then it was perfectly evident that if we determined to retire from the country there would be the greatest difficulty in arriving at a *modus vivendi* between the Boers and the English settlers who had bought property in the Transvaal, and there would also be the greatest difficulty in arranging for the due protection of the rights of the natives. We see what these difficulties are, now, when all men who have eyes perceive that there is no alternative between doing what we are doing and keeping, at the expense of the British tax-payer for years to come, a large body of men in the Transvaal to crush down insurrection by force. But how much greater would they have been, then, when hardly any one believed that such difficulties would arise, when we had not a scrap of authoritative evidence to refer to, or to lay before Parliament, in favor of the belief that the country was not settling down, and when we had nothing like the force which we have now in South Africa? Thus far our policy was one of simply accepting accomplished facts. We had nothing to do with the annexation, and nothing that we found when the records of the Colonial Office were opened to us gave us the slightest reason to believe that that annexation had been prudent, but everything led us to think that it was just one of those cases in which you must make the best of a bad bargain. *Fieri non debuit*, we said at the time and in the way it was done, *factum valet*.

To sum up. On one side was our conviction that the act of Lord Carnarvon had been premature and impolitic; on the other, the belief that South Africa had suffered much in the past from abrupt changes of policy; that our retirement from the Transvaal would mean the certain overthrow of all immediate hopes of confederation, endless embarrassing questions, a possible civil war between the Boer and British sympathisers, the reconstituting a government worse than the

bad government which Sir Theophilus Shepstone overthrew, and the possibility of having to annex over again in a very few years. Was it wonderful that under those circumstances we remembered the somewhat paradoxical maxim, which was constantly in the mouth of one of the greatest of British administrators when he wished to deprecate sudden changes of policy, "Any plan is a good plan if you only stick to it?"

The first incident which obliged us to take any action that would not have been taken by the right honorable gentleman, the member for East Gloucestershire, was the withdrawal by the Cape Ministry of their proposals for a confederation. As soon as that event occurred, the whole reason for keeping Sir Bartle Frere at the Cape seemed to us at an end, and directed him to return to this country.

The overthrow of the hopes of confederation required us to repeat, with reference alike to Natal and the Transvaal our assurances that nothing was further from our desire than to retain any more control over their affairs than circumstances made absolutely necessary, so that there should be no pretence for saying, either in the one country or the other, that the failure of the proposals for confederation was a death-blow to their hopes.

This was the situation when Parliament rose, in the beginning of September last year, as explained in the statements that were then made from the Treasury Bench on behalf of the Government. By this time Sir George Colley had been for some months in South Africa, and was in a position to advise us as to what ought to be done. Did he take a different view from his predecessor, Sir Garnet Wolseley? On the contrary, he confirmed Sir Garnet's views in every particular. He not only did that in word, but he did it in deed, by assuring us that we might, with perfect safety, withdraw some troops from the Transvaal. But perhaps this withdrawal was an act which would not have

been done by the previous Government. Let us see how that matter stands. Not only was Sir George Colley their choice, not ours, but when the present Government came into power it found that its predecessors had provided for the retention of the King's Dragoon Guards in the Transvaal for six months only. It was clear, then, that their intention was to withdraw that regiment. Before, however, we acted on their resolution, we consulted both Sir Garnet Wolseley and Sir George Colley, and both thought it might with propriety be withdrawn. It was accordingly sent to India in the end of September.

We further consulted Sir George Colley with reference to the withdrawal of a regiment of infantry, which was approved by Sir Garnet Wolseley. Sir George Colley deferred giving an opinion till he had visited the Transvaal; but eventually, after visiting it, and after consulting with Sir Owen Lanyon, approved of the 58th being taken away, not only from the Transvaal, but altogether from South Africa. This, however, was not done. It was retained in Natal, on the southern frontier of which things were somewhat uneasy in the autumn.

Well, but if we were to withdraw troops from the Transvaal, should we not have tried to conciliate the Boers?

My reply is that we did so, and mainly in two ways:

First: Our representatives reiterated the assurances that if the Boer malcontent section would only frankly accept the sovereignty of the Queen, and leave us some such control over their dealings with the natives as would have been provided in South Africa itself, if a confederation had come into existence, they should have the most complete control of their own affairs, after having been picked by the British Government out of the gulf of bankruptcy. How thoroughly this was understood by some of the foremost men in the Transvaal, not of British blood, may be gathered from

extracts which I read to the House last January, and with which I need not again trouble honorable members.

Secondly: We did all we could to procure the ratification of the Lourenço Marques Treaty by the Portuguese Government. That treaty, a necessary preliminary to the construction of a railway to Delagoa Bay, was the thing for which all sound-headed and intelligent men in the Transvaal most cared, and it was a thing which, without British assistance, was quite out of the question.

Meantime the reports continued good. Both Sir Owen Lanyon and Sir George Colley wrote in the most hopeful way, and there was nothing of importance to set against this, in the way of warning from other parts of South Africa. Almost every one, official and non-official, in the Cape and Natal, thought, as Sir George Colley and Sir Owen Lanyon thought, that the acquiescence of the malcontent Boers was a mere question of time.

The same sort of news came, through the whole of the autumn. Sir Owen Lanyon wrote, after a long journey through the country, that all along his route the white population appeared more or less satisfied and contented with the present *régime*. Sir George Colley, who also travelled extensively in the country during the autumn, in addressing the Natal Council, on the 21st of October, soon after his return, spoke as follows:—

“In the Transvaal the agitation, which has long been fanned by a party inimical to the British Government, appears to be subsiding. The country is tranquil, law and order are everywhere maintained, taxes yielding a large revenue have been regularly paid by whites and natives alike, and we may reasonably hope that the prosperity which the Transvaal now enjoys, under a firm and settled Government, will be permanent and increasing, and will beneficially affect this colony also.”

In the middle of November some resistance was made at Potchefstroom to the sale of a waggon for non-payment of taxes. This resistance was reported by Sir Owen Lanyon, but he did not attach any serious importance to the affair. He thought, however, that that and similar acts could not be allowed to pass without being punished, and he also directed the prosecution of a newspaper called the *Volkstem* for seditious writing; while quite at the end of November he wrote to the Secretary of State that he had asked Sir George Colley to allow the 58th to return to the Transvaal before the time fixed for a mass meeting of the Boers in January. On the 4th December Sir George Colley telegraphed to us that he was sending half a battalion to the Transvaal at Sir Owen Lanyon's request, "the attitude of the Boers requiring increased force at Pretoria."

The news of the sending up of this trifling force was the first hint of there being any sort of uneasiness in the minds either of Sir George Colley or Sir Owen Lanyon which reached the Secretary of State, until on the 19th December Sir George Colley telegraphed that Heidelberg had been seized.

Well, now, what was the first impression which that news produced upon the Government? It was the impression that this proceeding was the act of a small, though angry, minority. All our agents had warned us that there was such a minority. None of our agents, and none even of the recognised organs of non-official opinion in South Africa, had led us to believe that the Boers, as a body, would ever do more than pass resolutions, more or less sincere, in mass meetings. We did then the only thing that we or any other Government could have done; we determined to put down the malcontent minority by force, in the interest of the well-affected majority, and we took measures accordingly to reinforce Sir George Colley, and to support him in every possible way.

Then came an incident which has been a good deal commented upon. A deputation of Cape colonists waited upon the acting administrator, Sir George Strahan, and suggested that a Commissioner should be sent to the Transvaal to make terms with the insurgents. That proposal was handed on to the Government, and by it was declined, with the remark that the moment was not an opportune one for taking such a step. What other answer could have been given? Were we, while all our information led us to suppose that we had to do merely with a malcontent minority, to give way to that malcontent minority? No, we had no doubt that our first duty was to bring such a force into South Africa as to be sufficient amply to vindicate the Queen's authority, and the announcement that we should do so was made in the Queen's Speech, and repeated in various forms upon other occasions.

Soon, however, the conviction was brought home to our minds, and not to our minds only, but to the minds of the whole country, that we had to do with a far more serious movement of opinion than we had expected to encounter; that it was not merely a malcontent minority with which we had to contend in the Transvaal, but a malcontent majority, and that the feeling of that malcontent majority was shared to a very great and dangerous extent by the whole Dutch population of South Africa. As soon as that conviction took possession of our minds, we saw that all hope of preserving the exact settlement of our relations with the Transvaal which was made by Lord Carnarvon was at an end; but we thought we saw our way to a plan by which everything which was of any importance in that settlement could be easily secured, and we told President Brand that we should be ready to propose such a plan, provided the insurgents "ceased from armed opposition."

The Government had no doubt, however, that this alterna-

tive plan would be more easily carried into effect if Sir George Colley obtained an advantage in the field and dispersed the insurgents. We did not, accordingly, think it right to allow our willingness largely to alter the arrangements of Lord Carnarvon to interfere with the action of our armies, and *carte blanche* as to all military movements was left to Sir George Colley. I, for one, have no hesitation in saying that, while I should have thought it absurd, and worse than absurd, to fight for the preservation in its entirety of Lord Carnarvon's settlement, I thought that the new settlement which we were prepared to make would be far more easily and better carried into effect if Sir George Colley had the kind of rapid, and comparatively bloodless, success over the insurgents which we had a right to expect from one who was considered to be amongst the most rising soldiers in the British army, at the head of regular forces, which regular forces he could have had augmented to any extent merely for the asking; for, as honorable members know, the War Office offered to him far larger reinforcements than he cared to take.

The House must keep in view this very important fact that, while we informed the friends of the Boers that we were perfectly ready to negotiate if they "ceased from armed opposition and dispersed to their homes," we were most anxious not to hamper our general. It would have been grossly unjust if we had done so; but, at the same time, it would have been most impolitic if we had forgotten that *the* object which we wished to obtain, whether by military success or by negotiation, was such an arrangement of things in the Transvaal as might prevent a violent development of race-hatred between the Englishman and the Dutchman in South Africa. We did not believe that a speedy and easy success in the field would lead to such a development. On the contrary, we thought it would help us to prevent it.

The fortune of war, however, willed it otherwise. Our commander was defeated and slain after three engagements, fought with a force of six companies against an enemy which, in each of these engagements, had advantages so overwhelming that, although there may have been some good military reasons for fighting, no military man has yet been able to explain what those reasons were. These checks were, as Sir Evelyn Wood has very properly said, absolutely unimportant with reference to our military *prestige*, but they altered the political situation not a little.

After the Majuba disaster it became perfectly evident that there was no question of a speedy and easy victory. The Dutch feeling through South Africa was profoundly excited, and the very next check might have brought us face to face with a wide and general insurrection, the war-cry of which would have been, Up with the Dutch and down with the English!

That was a grave peril, and we took measures accordingly. We directed such a force, naval and military, towards the shores of South Africa as would have sufficed to pulverise any possible resistance in the Transvaal or elsewhere. We did that; but I confess we shuddered at the bloody and hateful work that might be before us. But did we lower our tone, did we diminish our demands on the Boer leaders after our defeats? In no way. We insisted in the end of February precisely on what we insisted upon in the beginning of January. In other words, while we did not allow our willingness to negotiate to interfere with the perfect military liberty of our commanders, we did not allow the unhappy failure of one commander to interfere in any way with our willingness to negotiate. We did not lower our terms because of the increased danger of revolt; we did not raise them, or break off negotiations altogether, from a silly fear about our military *prestige*, or from a desire for revenge.

We poured troops into South Africa, and said, Now, will you have what we offered you six weeks ago, or will you not?

A clever *advocatus diaboli** against the Government managed to draw a picture of what he called "Surrender's Progress," and was so pleased with his own work that he described it as "Hogarthian." He forgot, however, that the great merit of the artist to whom he likened himself was his truth, and that even the most superficial resemblance to truth could not be conferred upon his picture, except by torturing telegrams, as if they were his old and natural enemies, phrases in deeds, and clauses in Acts of Parliament, while his "descending scale" had this ludicrous peculiarity, that whereas it *ought* to have ended, in order to preserve its descending character, in the British demands gradually becoming lower at each defeat, it *did* end in the Boers retracting all their unreasonable demands and agreeing to everything we had asked.

They said "We are ready, if the troops are ordered to withdraw from the Transvaal, to give them free passage and to withdraw from our position."

We said, "The troops shall not withdraw from the Transvaal, and you shall withdraw from your position." Or, in other words, we enforced the stipulation on which we had insisted from the very beginning of the discussions—that is, as far back as the 10th of January—that the condition precedent to the Crown's inquiry into the Boers' complaint by a Royal Commission (the usual method by which the Crown inquires into the grievances of its subjects) was that the Boers should "desist from armed opposition." Whether the process of returning every man to his own home and peaceful avocations, while our garrisons remain, the British flag flies where it flew before the outbreak, and the country is administered in the Queen's name, is described as "laying

* Earl Cairns.

down their arms and going to their homes," or "going to their homes and laying aside their rifles," or "desisting from armed opposition," or "ceasing from armed opposition and dispersing," or "withdrawing from their positions while they leave us in ours," seems to me, as the Germans say, "colossally unimportant."

Now I come to the agreement which was made with the Boers, and the reasons of it. The course of policy which the Government has adopted in this matter is one which it is impossible to vindicate by the strongest arguments which can be adduced in its favor, without falling into plagiarism. The situation is not a new one, and what has to be said about it was said many years ago, as well as it could be said, in this House by one of the greatest English orators in the best speech he ever made in Parliament.

Honorable members, whose attention has not lately been called to Mr. Burke's speech on "Conciliation with America," will be, I think, not a little surprised to find how perfectly many of the charges which the gainsayers of the Government policy have been making are answered in that memorable oration.

"South Africa," honorable gentlemen opposite say, "is worth fighting for." "Certainly it is," Mr. Burke would have replied, "if fighting a people be the best way of gaining them. Gentlemen, in this respect, will be led to their choice of means by their complexions and their habits. Those who wield the thunder of the State may have more confidence in the efficacy of arms. But I confess, possibly for want of this knowledge, my opinion is much more in favor of prudent management than of force; considering force not as an odious, but as a feeble instrument." Then Mr. Burke went on to give four reasons against the use of force in dealing with America, every one of which applies just as much to our dealing with South Africa.

"First," he said, "the use of force is *temporary*; a nation which is held by conquest may have to be conquered again and again."

"Secondly, the use of force is *uncertain*."

"Thirdly, if you use force you *impair the object* by your very endeavours to preserve it." But here his words are so curiously appropriate to the present situation that I must quote them in their entirety:

"The thing you fought for is not the thing which you recover; but depreciated, sunk, wasted, and consumed in the contest. Nothing less will content me than *whole America* (South Africa). I do not choose to consume its strength along with our own, because in all parts it is the British strength that I consume."

I hope honorable gentlemen will not think it beneath the dignity of the subject if I repeat to them a remark which was made to me, at the beginning of the recent rising, by a member of this House who has been long, and creditably, connected with the commerce of South Africa. "Every Boer who is killed in the war will mean," he said, "ten fewer bales of wool exported per annum."

The fourth reason against the use of force, which Mr. Burke gave, was one which was strong in his own day and for his purpose, but is twentyfold, fiftyfold stronger in our day and for my purpose.

"We have no sort of *experience*," he said, "in favor of force as an instrument in the rule of our colonies. Their growth and their utility has been owing to methods altogether different. Our ancient indulgence has been said to be pursued to a fault. It may be so; but we know, if feeling is evidence, that our fault was more tolerable than our attempt to mend it; and our sin far more salutary than our penitence."

The whole of our Colonial policy, for more than a generation, has been built upon that idea—the idea that it would be impos-

sible, even if the conscience of the nation would permit it, to hold together our gigantic Empire by force. It would be a betrayal of our trust to consent too readily and too easily to give up a territory which had been fairly incorporated with the Empire. Whenever there is reason to suppose that the acts of resistance to authority are merely the acts of a party, even of a strong party, in any community, then our first duty is to make the law respected, but if it becomes clear that the objection to our rule is not one that can be removed by concessions to opinion, however judicious, and that it is the determination of the vast majority of any community of European blood to set up for itself, it is very difficult to see how we could, consistently with the views which are held by nine Englishmen out of ten, continue to keep that community in subjection by mere naked force.

That, I apprehend, would be the view of most people, with regard even to countries which have grown into importance from nothing at all, under the shadow of the British Empire. But the whole object of our colonial policy should be to make the position of the real British colonist in the world so agreeable that he may desire nothing more earnestly than that he should remain closely connected with the mother country. Of course, however, it is an entirely different thing when we are dealing with the Transvaal—a country which has no organic connection with the Empire at all, our connection with which is merely a thing of yesterday, and with which we should never have been connected if we had known the facts of the case as we know them now. But it is objected that we are lowering the dignity of the Crown by making concessions. Again Mr. Burke supplies a ready answer.

“Peace implies reconciliation ; and, where there has been a material dispute, reconciliation does in a manner always imply concession on the one part or on the other. In this state of things I make no difficulty in affirming that the

proposal ought to originate from us. Great and acknowledged force is not impaired, either in effect or in opinion, by an unwillingness to exert itself. The superior power may offer *peace with honor* and with safety. Such an offer from such a power will be attributed to magnanimity. But the concessions of the weak are the concessions of fear. When such a one is disarmed, he is wholly at the mercy of his superior, and he loses for ever that time and those chances which, as they happen to all men, are the strength and resources of all inferior power."

Honorable members will observe the phrase, "Peace with honor," and will not fail to note that it was originally used to describe a transaction exactly analogous to that in which we have been engaged in South Africa.

Then, Sir, there was a grave and learned person who told us that we had "dismembered the empire." A man must have a strange notion of this mighty body politic, in which the gigantic mass of British India is lost as a stone thrown into water, who thinks that it makes much matter what are the relations between its head and the farmers of the Transvaal; but here, too, Mr. Burke shall speak:

"Who are you that you should fret, and rage, and bite the chains of nature? Nothing worse happens to you than does to all nations who have extensive empire; and it happens in all the forms into which empire can be thrown. In large bodies the circulation of power must be less vigorous at the extremities. Nature has said it. The Turk cannot govern Egypt, and Arabia, and Curdistan as he governs Thrace, nor has he the same dominion in Crimea and Algiers which he has at Brusa and Smyrna. Despotism itself is obliged to truck and huckster. The Sultan gets such obedience as he can. He governs with a loose rein that he may govern at all;

* The speech by Earl Cairns, to which I was replying, was published under the title of *Peace with Dishonor*.

and the whole of the force and vigour of his authority in his centre is derived from a prudent relaxation in all his borders. Spain, in her provinces, is, perhaps, not so well obeyed as you are in yours. She complies too; she submits; she watches times. This is the immutable condition, the eternal law, of extensive and detached empire."

It remains to notice some of the objections, and to reply to some of the questions that have been addressed to us.

Much eloquence has been expended on the phrase, "Self-government is to be given to the Boers," and the country was told that these were not the words of Sir Evelyn Wood, for "a soldier could not use jargon of that kind."

The answer to that is at once simple and brief. "Jargon" or no "jargon," the words are the words of Sir Evelyn Wood, a thorough soldier, spontaneously chosen to express his meaning, and not suggested, as was insinuated, by any one in Downing Street.

Then the right of cession without an Act of Parliament has been called in question. But that right of cession has been exercised by the Crown over and over again. Not to trouble the House with other instances—of which Aitchison's work on our Indian Treaties is full—the Orange Free State was ceded to its inhabitants by the prerogative, and that was a far stronger exercise of the prerogative than what is now being done, for we cut the cable altogether in the case of the Orange Free State. It became quite independent, whereas the whole of the Transvaal remains under the suzerainty of the Crown.

A great deal of criticism has been called forth by that same word suzerainty. But what does suzerainty mean? Suzerainty means simply the sovereignty of an over-lord, the relation of an over-lord to his immediate vassal. To take one out of hundreds of examples in India, which I select because it was, some ten years ago, much talked over in this House, the Queen stood in the relation of Suzerain to the

once too famous Nawab of Tonk, and that personage stood in the relation of Suzerain to the Thakoor of Lawa. Considering the relation of the Crown to so many native princes in India, it would have been odd that the word suzerainty should have excited so much comment as it has done, even a few years ago; but, that a party, which in 1878 placed the Queen under something very like the suzerainty of the Porte in Cyprus, should say so much against her being made the suzerain of the Transvaal in 1881, is, indeed, surprising.

The word suzerain ought to be familiar enough, for in the work* from which the party opposite took nearly the whole of their foreign policy occurs the following passage:—

“The only way to manage the Afghans is by Persia and by the Arabs. We will acknowledge the Empress of India as our suzerain, and secure for her the Levantine coast. If she like she shall have Alexandria as she now has Malta: it could be arranged.”

But it is said, “Oh, but the Queen can’t be suzerain of a Republic.” Can’t she? Well, then, what were the relations of the Head of the Holy Roman Empire to the Free Towns of Germany? Do we arrogate, since the adoption of the Imperial title in India, a higher rank to the sovereign of these realms than the Middle Age accorded to the Head of the Holy Roman Empire? The fit of Imperialism through which we passed hardly, I think, brought us to that.

Another objection to the terms of peace is, that it is said we give up the natives in the Transvaal to slavery. That is not true, although, no doubt, apprenticeship has been and may be abused.

But it was abused when we and our predecessors were ruling the Transvaal as a Crown Colony. You cannot cure abuses of that kind in a day, hardly in a generation. Many

* Tancred.

honorable members would say that they have not yet died out in the Cape.

Then it is said that we did wrong to negotiate with persons who were not duly authorised.

I ask, if we were to negotiate at all, with whom were we to negotiate except with those who appeared to be the leaders of the people? Of course, it would have been pleasanter to negotiate with persons who had credentials as regular as those of an ambassador in Europe, but there was no such person. The eminent lawyer* who made so much of this point should have remembered the legal maxim, *Nemo tenetur ad impossibilia*.

Then a great deal of ridicule has been thrown on the phrase, "control of the foreign relations of the Boers." We have been told that such a phrase has meaning in Berlin or Paris, but none in Pretoria. That is an entire misconception. The South African Republic in 1877 had treaties with Holland, Belgium, and Portugal, whilst its international status had been recognised by Germany, France, and the United States.

Any one who has occupied himself with the affairs of South Africa knows that the wildest hopes and the wildest fears have both been built on the foreign relations of the Boers. The same kind of mind which has Russophobia on the brain in Asia would get Teutonophobia on the brain at the Cape.

And now, Sir, I think I have gone through most of the objections that have been made to the recent policy of her Majesty's Government in South Africa. It only remains to say that I am sure South Africa has suffered not a little from its affairs being discussed, in this country, in what I may be permitted to call too high a key.

The change that is being made in our relations to the Transvaal may or may not be wise; but it is simply childish

* Earl Cairns.

to talk of it as a very mighty matter. Exaggeration of that kind, however, punishes itself. To say that our not wiping out in blood the defeat of six British companies, badly handled by an able but inexperienced commander, was a disgrace so terrible that it could be truly said of it—

“ In all the ills we bore,
We grieved, we sighed, we wept,
We never blushed before;”

is simply silly, to say nothing of its being a bull; for we certainly must be held by the man who quoted them with approval to have “ blushed ” a first time when these lines were originally written.

And when were they written? They were written in disparagement of one of the most brilliant pages in English history. Her Majesty's Government may be well content if their colonial policy commends itself as much to posterity as the foreign policy of the great Protector.

[*Fortnightly Review*, September 1881.]

PART IV.

DOMESTIC AND GENERAL.

THE ENGLISH PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN 1861.

Some of you are aware that I obtained from the Government, in the month of June last, the promise of a Royal Commission to inquire into the public and chief endowed schools of England. When I put my motion on the paper in the early part of the session, I by no means expected to effect what I wished without much trouble and opposition, because, although the excellent articles which had appeared in the *Cornhill* and elsewhere had prepared the public mind for an inquiry into these institutions, I feared that as soon as the question was stirred in the House, the old "Floreat Etona" cry might be raised, and that the same bad success might attend my efforts, which proved fatal to those of Mr. Brougham in 1818. I was then much relieved when, a day or two before the motion was to come on, I ascertained that Ministers were not unfavourable to my proposal; and my satisfaction was much increased when somewhat later I found that they were willing to go so far in the direction in which I wished to move, that I had nothing to do but to leave the matter in their hands. If I had thought that the good likely to result from such an inquiry would be limited to carrying into effect the recommendations of any Commission which could at present be issued, however respectably composed, I would not have meddled with the question. While, how-

ever, I have great confidence in the Commissioners, I have even more confidence in the results of the full discussion which their report is sure to meet with.

In several of these schools great changes are wanted in matters of detail. In several of them there are great abuses. In two, Harrow and Rugby, there are, as far as I know, no abuses at all, and if it be granted that the course of study now pursued at these two schools is right, and not, as I think, in many respects radically wrong, then they are quite admirable institutions. This, however, is neither the time nor the place for discussing theories of education, and I will only allude in passing to one circumstance which seems to me very consolatory to all friends of progress. This very inquiry, which is now granted with hardly a dissentient voice, was resisted most furiously only forty-three years ago. The *Quarterly Review*, for example, spoke of Dr. Goodall of Eton having been subjected to examination by Mr. Brougham's committee, as if it had been a profanation of the holiest things, and quoted the lines—

Thus England's monarch *once* uncovered sat,
While Bradshaw bullied in a broad-brimmed hat.

[*At Elgin, September 18th, 1861.*]

THE ENGLISH PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN 1864.

Such are the principal points which are brought out in the Commissioners' General Report; but before I pass to notice some of the more important suggestions which they make with regard to the several schools which have come under their review, I may be allowed to quote the passage in which they sum up their general impressions of the system :—

“It is not easy to estimate the degree in which the English people are indebted to these schools for the qualities on which they pique themselves most,—for their capacity to govern others and control themselves, their aptitude for combining freedom with order, their public spirit, their vigour and manliness of character, their strong but not slavish respect for public opinion, their love for healthy sports and exercise. These schools have been the chief

nurseries of our statesmen; in them and in schools modelled after them, men of all the various classes that make up English Society, destined for every profession and career, have been brought up on a footing of social equality, and have contracted the most enduring friendships, and some of the ruling habits of their lives; and they had, perhaps, the largest share in moulding the character of an English gentleman. The system, like other systems, has its blots and imperfections; there have been times when it was at once too lax and too severe,—severe in punishments, but lax in superintendence and prevention; it has permitted, if not encouraged, some roughness, tyranny, and license; but these defects have not seriously marred its wholesome operation, and it appears to have gradually purged itself from them in a remarkable degree. Its growth, no doubt, is largely due to those very qualities in our national character which it has itself contributed to form; but justice bids us add that it is due likewise to the wise munificence which founded the institutions under whose shelter it has been enabled to take root, and to the good sense, temper, and ability of the men by whom, during successive generations, they have been governed.”

This is true, but there is another and a sadder side to the picture. Go back fifty years, and read Sydney Smith's articles in the early numbers of the *Edinburgh*. What are the most important recommendations of this report but an echo of his words to which so few listened? But his doctrines were not new doctrines. You will find them in Locke's treatise on education. You will find them further back still in Milton's noble paper. Nay, some of them you will find even in the writings of Ascham. If our fathers had only listened to those great men, what a waste of power would have been saved, and how much further advanced in all true civilisation this England of ours would have been.

[*House of Commons, May 6th, 1864.*]

ETON.

Make these schools in every respect what they should be; improve your universities proportionably, and the demand to enter such a school as Eton will become so great that you will be able to dictate what conditions you please. You will be able, for instance, to say that you do not care to receive any one who does not come to be prepared for the university, and you will be able to decline modifying what you have delibe-

rately determined to be the best system of training for the mind, in deference to the requirements of this or that competitive examination. Make Eton what it ought to be, and it will be a school not only for England, but, within twenty years, for the upper classes of the whole of Europe.

[*As above.*]

MIDDLE-CLASS SCHOOLS.

The Commissioners say that the people of Shrewsbury should turn their attention rather to creating a good proprietary school in the town than to making the present school fulfil the purpose of an institution for giving what is loosely called middle-class education. The demand, however, for that kind of education throughout the country is becoming so loud that I think we must determine ere long to break up and remodel our utterly inefficient net-work of endowed schools. In the year 1861, when I first proposed a Commission to inquire into the higher school education to the then Home Secretary, I contemplated a Commission which should inquire at once into the public schools and the grammar schools. Sir George Lewis wisely, however, thought that that was too large a scheme. I trust, however, that the Government will not lose sight of the truth that thirty good schools for the middle classes dotted over the face of England would be an enormous boon to them, and would do five times more to advance education than all the second and third-rate grammar schools put together. We have not on this side of the channel committed the folly which Burke so well exposed in the case of our neighbours, when they swept away the splendid foundations of mediæval munificence; but we certainly in many cases by gross neglect do our best to make them as useless as possible.

And now, Sir, I have but one word more. Throughout I have wished to address myself to those who think that the

Commissioners have gone too far, rather than to those who think that they have not gone far enough ; and yet I know that there will be many who feel this, and who will say that the report would be less favourable if it had been drawn up by less friendly hands; for let it not be forgotten, the Lion has been for once painted by himself. To those, however, I would say, that all times in England belong more or less to the men of half measures, and of compromises ; but this time, perhaps, even more than most other times. Perhaps, however, in educational matters, and not in them alone, we are approaching the end of an epoch. A more logical and consequent generation will, I trust, carry reform farther when we have crumbled into dust. Sir, I beg to move the resolution which stands in my name.

[*As above.*]

NEW GOVERNING BODIES FOR THE ENGLISH PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

The strong expression of opinion which followed the publication of the Report of the Commission upon the English public schools will, I trust, embolden the Government to bring in a Bill upon this subject, applying a remedy which shall be not wholly inadequate to the greatness of the exigency. To do so will require some courage, because there is no subject on which the rank and file of the Conservative party is so unreasonable. I say the rank and file, because it is quite otherwise with some of the leaders,—with Sir Stafford Northcote, for example. I need not say, however, that legislation can do but little in such a matter as this. The great change, the revolution which is absolutely necessary, if these institutions, which are not only important in themselves, but still more important as fixing indirectly the standard of the higher education from the Land's End to Cape Wrath, are to share in the progress of the age, must be

accomplished by a slower process, by the influence of common sense upon the minds of parents, and by the exertions of the new governing bodies which Parliament, if it does its duty as well as the Commissioners have done theirs, will next year call into existence. [At Elgin, October 27th, 1864.]

EDUCATIONAL AND OTHER CHARITIES, 1864.

The astounding abuses in the administration of charities, which were revealed to the public in the report of the Commission over which the late Duke of Newcastle presided, have led as yet to very little action on the part of Government, although no one can doubt, after Mr. Gladstone's magnificent speech* of last year, that there is one man at least in the Cabinet who is prepared to lay the axe to the root of the evil.

Very possibly Ministers may wait till the new Commission upon middle-class schools shall have completed its labours. When I called the attention of the House, on the 11th of June 1863, to the abuses in the administration of funds for educational and other purposes, amounting in the aggregate to one-and-a-half million per annum, I hardly ventured to hope that we should have a Commission to inquire into middle-class schools so soon. [As above.]

CLASSICAL IDEAS.

The aim of all reasonable classical teaching should be to communicate to the pupil, in the shortest possible time, and in the way most likely powerfully to arrest his attention, the greatest number of essentially classical ideas.

In a world where art is so long and time so short, where so much is desirable to be known, and in which there is so much which it is painful or even dangerous not to know, one would fancy that the first object of every educationist ought to be to

* On the taxation of Charities.

make learning as easy as possible. To every shrine of Knowledge there should surely be a royal road, if the nature of the ground to be traversed admits of it. Yet this is as far as possible from being the prevailing view; nay, there are men to be found, and eminent men too, who will tell you that they value this or that study simply and solely because it is difficult. I remember hearing the headmaster of one of the greatest English schools say this of Greek. He cared nothing for anything that Greek books contained. He scouted the idea of attempting to make the acquisition of Greek more easy to his pupils. "Meal, meal, and not the mill," cried the wise German; but my friend and all the race which he represents would reverse that prayer.

So far am I from believing that the great argument in favour of classical studies is their difficulty, that I think that argument tells quite the other way, and that, if it were not outweighed by stronger arguments, it would be decisive against their remaining an integral part of the higher education. The whole debate seems to me to turn upon the answer to be given to these two questions: first, is the training to be derived from classical studies different in kind from any which is to be obtained from other studies? and secondly, if so, is it worth the sacrifices that must be made for it? To both these questions I unhesitatingly reply in the affirmative.

The light that comes to us from the ordinary intercourse of society, from almost all foreign travel, from all modern literature, is the light of Christian civilisation colored now by a Teutonic, now by a Romance, now by a Slavonic medium, but still essentially the same. The light that comes to us from classical literature is altogether different. The one cannot supply the place of the other.

If I wished to bring home in a few moments to the mind of any one the wide difference between the two sets of

impressions which come to us from intercourse with the ancient and the modern mind, I would ask him to take one of some fifty walks that might be taken round the basin of the Mediterranean. Let any one, for example, after gazing over the Roman Forum and filling his imagination with all the ideas that that spot calls up, climb the short ascent of "that famous hillock" on which once stood the shrine of Capitoline Jove. A few moments would bring him to the much-renowned chamber where the Faun of Praxiteles stands in eternal youth, where the Amazon grasps her arrow, where the Antinous embodies in marble the highest conception of manly beauty, where the Gladiator sinks upon his hand, "butchered to make a Roman holiday." There let him pause, and then, passing to the window of that chamber, let him look into the court below, and see that famous horse of bronze, the admiration of so many artists, on which sits the flower and crown of all heathen virtue, the noblest ruler that earth has ever seen,—the incomparable Marcus Aurelius. In all the vast circle of ideas which those few minutes would call up, there would not be one that was not utterly different from all that are to be found outside the circle of the classics, and the modern works that have been directly inspired by them, and of all the circle there are but very few that humanity could afford to let die.

[*First Rectorial Address at Aberdeen, 1867.*]

GENERAL ADVICE TO SCOTTISH STUDENTS.

And now, in conclusion, I have one word to say to you all, not as students of this or that Faculty, but as Scottish students. Keep your view of the world and its affairs wide and clear. Correct, by converse with many men if you can, by converse with many books, if that is impossible, our national tendency to will intensely what we will at all, which leads us but too often to attach too much importance to

trifles. Welcome knowledge and enlightenment from whatever quarter they come : from England,—she is wedded to us in an equal marriage ; from the continent,—our country was a member of the European commonwealth before it formed a portion of the United Kingdom. Our national form of Protestantism was cast in the mould of Holland and of Switzerland ; our Chief Court of Law was copied from the Parliament of Paris. The prototypes of our national architecture are to be sought for over the sea in Guienne or Poitou ; nay, the very custom in virtue of which I have the honor to stand before you this day leads us back through Louvain to that ancient Law-school at the foot of the Apennines, which grew into the University of Bologna. All that is most distinctive in us comes from the fact that our originally composite nationality has been exposed to the influence of many and varied currents of circumstance and opinion. Let us hold fast to our great traditions, and try to differ from England, not as some would have us differ, by exaggerating whatever is narrow and insular in English institutions or habits, but by keeping our eyes fixed more steadily than our neighbours do, on the forward march of European progress. Let us resolve that whether England does or does not continue to abuse her incomparable foundations, we, at least, shall not be satisfied if our schools and universities, poor and humble by comparison, do not follow close upon the heels of Heidelberg or the Collège de France. There is no doubt that, from one cause or another, this remote region obtained, in the sixteenth century, a reputation throughout Europe quite disproportioned to its actual power. That reputation it has never wholly lost. “ If it had pleased the Almighty,” a distinguished Frenchman once remarked to me, “ to create not two, but twenty millions of Scotchmen, they would have conquered the world ! ” “ *Noblesse oblige*,” and we shall be but unworthy inheritors of a great and

stirring history, if we do not do something to deserve the fame which has come to us merely by descent. [*As above.*]

THE UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN.

The two mottoes most closely connected with this great institution seem to me curiously well calculated to be stars by which you may steer. "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom" will remind you of the spirit of reverence in which you should form your opinions; while the defiant, "They say!—what say they?—let them say!" of the Earls Marischal will remind you of the small regard which you need pay to the *dicta* of men as fallible as yourselves, or to the growl of unintelligent prejudice. [*As above.*]

TECHNICAL EDUCATION.

Many eminent men have been declaring that England is falling behind other nations in the industrial race, and that a better and more extended technical education has become a necessity. All attempts, however, to give a good technical education will break down, if we do not imitate Switzerland and Germany in creating a really good system of elementary and middle-class education. That is the soil in which technical education must grow, and at present that soil is woefully thin in many places.

[*Presidential Address to the Economic, &c., Section of the British Association at Dundee, 1867.*]

COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN SCOTLAND.

I am distinctly in favour of compulsory education; but it is idle to talk of compulsory education till you have efficient schools where the whole of the more necessitous part of the population may be educated, together with a strong public opinion in favour of a compulsory education. But if elementary education were universal from Beachy Head to Thurso,

as I trust it may be before the year 1900, this nation would still be but poorly furnished forth if she aspires to lead European civilisation. Our secondary education is still,—allowing, of course, for some conspicuous exceptions,—a tangled chaotic mass, the domain of absurdities and abuses. All this requires amendment, and several symptoms give new hope that that amendment is coming. I would point, amongst others, to the reforms lately effected and being effected at Harrow; to the recent unanimous resolution passed by the British Association in favour of the introduction of science into schools; and to the increasing number of articles in the periodical press dealing with this important subject. [At Elgin, 1867.]

NATIONAL EDUCATION IN 1868.

If the question of the Irish Establishment might well have been decided by the old Constituencies, it is hardly so with the question of Education. Since 1858, four Royal Commissions, the first appointed at the suggestion of Sir John Pakington, the second at my own, the third and fourth appointed as supplements to the other two, have collected a body of information with regard to the educational state and requirements of Great Britain, which is, I think, without a parallel. Its effect upon public opinion has been very great, and many things are now possible which were quite hopeless ten years ago. Now, then, is the time to set about the revision of our system, or rather no-system, of primary, secondary, and higher instruction, in a comprehensive, unsectarian, and national spirit.

[*Election Address, August 29th, 1868.*]

ET QUID VOLO NISI UT ARDEAT.

Many of you are aware that in the autumn of 1868, I thought it right to propose some changes in the examination

for the Bursaries, of which this university possesses so large a number. It was inevitable that my proposal should give rise to much controversy. I knew it would do so. I wished it might do so, for *et quid volo nisi ut ardeat* must be the motto of every man who attempts to change the old order in the Churches or the Schools.

After a very pretty quarrel, which showed that the *per-fervidum ingenium* still boils and bubbles in some of the successors of Dempster, all has ended pretty much as I hoped and desired.

[*Second Rectorial Address at Aberdeen, 1870.*]

THE CRAMMERS.

The best of the much-abused crammers are nothing more and nothing less than skilful teachers; whereas too many of the teachers at some of our most highly-endowed and most fashionable public schools are, I fear, lamentably bad teachers.

Nothing, in fact, as I have said elsewhere, is more disheartening than the way in which the efforts of my friend, Sir John Lubbock here,* and of many other of the most prominent men of the day, to make the great schools of England what they should be, break down before the *vis inertie* of these institutions.

And so I say to all parents and guardians whom my voice can reach; don't believe one word you hear in disparagement of the teaching of these unfortunate crammers. When the schools can teach, I don't say as well, but pretty nearly as well, they will disappear and not till then. Meantime, send your children to the men who make them succeed in their examinations, and be thankful that you have so good a test as these examinations supply. [At Elgin, May 1875.]

* He was present.

GENERAL EDUCATION—WHAT IS ITS OBJECT.

What should be the object kept in view in all general education? To enable, I should reply, the person educated to make the most of his or her life. How is any man or woman to make the most of his or her life? First, by developing all his or her faculties to the uttermost; secondly, by endeavouring to do as much good as possible to his or her fellow-creatures; thirdly, by endeavouring to get as much enjoyment as is compatible with attention to these two objects. How is education to help him or her to do these things where there are no limitations of poverty or grievously deficient natural powers to complicate the problem? First, by forming a sound mind in a sound body; secondly, by good training of character; thirdly, by showing something of the contents, and leaving with the person educated, when that education is done, the key of the treasure-house of science, the key of the treasure-house of literature, the key of the treasure-house of natural beauty, and the key of the treasure-house of art. How much of this is accomplished,—or attempted now in the case even of those who can have all the chances? I fear very little.

[*Address at St. Mary's Medical College, June 1875.*]

EARTH KNOWLEDGE.

Paramount amongst the studies which should go to make up a general education in this country is a study for which, strange to say, we, who need it most, have not even a name—the study which the countrymen of Carl Ritter call, compendiously, *Erdkunde*,—earth knowledge,—but which we are obliged to describe, very clumsily and very imperfectly, as physical and political geography. Of all subjects, this is surely the one best fitted to train the youth of the great cosmopolitan power. There is not a single elector in this country whose vote may not at any moment seriously affect

the destinies of millions and millions of men scattered all over the world; while there is absolutely no end to the careers that are open to Englishmen whose natural love of enterprise is guided by a knowledge of the facts of the world. The one thing that you can, as things now are, almost always predicate about any Englishman famous in the State is, that he has had what is, to my mind, very erroneously called a good classical education—a classical education, that is, of the old-fashioned English type. I think that the time is coming when the one thing that you will be safely able to predicate about every Englishman famous in the State is, that he has had a very large and thorough training in earth-knowledge, begun in childhood by an intelligent study of his own immediate parish or district, and continued, partly by books and partly by travel, till he has the kind of command of this grand and truly manly subject which Canning had of the elegances of Latin scholarship. We must assign, of course, a very large part to the passions and to the mistaken reasoning of men in bringing about injudicious political action; but I think we must assign even a larger part to mere ignorance—to want of knowledge of the facts of the world. Take two events of our own day—the Indian Mutiny and the Franco-German War. Will any one maintain that either of these events would have taken place if the people who brought them about had known those facts of the world which it most concerned them to know? Hardly any one in France had the faintest idea of the military strength of Germany. Hardly any one in France knew how much more powerful was the German passion for unity than the counterforce of provincial jealousies and dynastic intrigues. Hardly any of the persons who joined their fortunes with the first leaders of the mutiny had the faintest idea what the real power of England was. They thought that they had only to kill all the

Englishmen in India to give them command of the country, and were utterly astounded when the sea began—to use their own expression—to vomit up troops all round their coast. What is true of these two events is true of almost every great political blunder recorded in history, and although I am as far as possible from maintaining that, by making a wide knowledge of the facts of the world a leading feature of general education, we should eliminate the causes of unwise political action, we should unquestionably very much diminish their number. It is possible that I may be led to attach too much importance to this study as a part of the education of Englishmen generally, from seeing daily and hourly the evil that comes from the want of it in public affairs. But I do not think so. I think there is no study that would better call out all that is best in Englishmen, or enrich so much our ordinary intercourse, extending its benefits far away into subjects which seem at first sight very remote. It was not without good reason that, under a picture of Carl Ritter, they put the two lines of the poet—

Would'st thou advance into the Infinite?
Go into the Finite upon all sides.

[*Address at St. Mary's Medical School, June 1875.*]

THE OXFORD PROFESSORiate AS IT SHOULD BE.

It is to the last degree disgraceful that at such a university as Oxford any branch of human knowledge which is recognised by the other great universities of the world should not be taught, excepting always branches of learning which have merely a local importance, or which there is some good reason for not teaching,—as for instance, from there being a place in the immediate neighbourhood where they are specially well taught. Why should Oxford strike her flag to Berlin or Heidelberg, or any other university on the face of the earth? Are they richer than she? Are they more digni-

fied than she? Have they to minister to a nation which has more world-wide interests than ours? A noble lord recently used as an illustration of useless Professorships—Professorships of Chinese and Slavonic. Sir, it seems to me difficult to speak with sufficient shame of a nation which has our position in Asia not having had, till the other day, a Professorship of Chinese in the wealthiest of its universities. Did the noble lord forget that China is inhabited by some three hundred and sixty millions of men? That she has the oldest and most extraordinary civilisation in the world; that we have commercial relations with her of great importance; and that a change that might at any time come about in the policy of that country might increase these relations quite enormously. Is there any one who has given attention to the subject, who will deny that it is possible that within the next fifty years, the Chinese race may be playing a part of first-rate importance in the world? So much for the direct importance of Chinese; but is that all? Just listen to what one of the leading philologists in Oxford says on this very subject:

“The importance of Chinese,” says Mr. Sayce, “to the science of language need not be pointed out, nor the mass of literature described which its study has called forth; and yet those only who have devoted their attention to the science of language can have any idea of the loss occasioned to it at Oxford by the absence there of a Chair of Chinese. How much would not the Oxford students of language have given for an opportunity of questioning and listening to a Professor of Chinese, whom it has been left to the far-sightedness of some Liverpool merchants to call to the university.”

And Slavonic. I only wish that we had had for many years back Professorships of more than one of the Slavonic languages. Perhaps, if we had had them, the present difficulties in the East would not be so perplexing as they are. I

entreat any one to whom such a remark may appear strange to turn to the collected works of one of the most brilliant and gifted of English scholars—the late Lord Strangford, a most devoted son of Oxford—and read the masterly, the admirable paper entitled “Chaos,” which deals with this very subject. People, who talk as the noble lord talked, have surely not the faintest idea, either of the vastness of the field over which human knowledge extends, or of what other nations are doing in cultivating that field. Some time ago Professor Max Müller was asked what Chairs should be founded in Oxford in connection with his own subject. To this question he replied, *inter alia*, as follows:—

“If it were wished to establish at Oxford a real School of Comparative Philology, the following Professorships would be necessary:—(1) a Professorship of the Teutonic languages; (2) a Professorship of the Celtic languages; (3) a Professorship of the Neo-Latin languages; (4) a Professorship of the Semitic languages independent of the Professorship of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis; (5) a Professorship of Persian, including Zend; (6) a Professorship of the language and antiquities of Egypt; (7) a Professorship of Chinese, coupled, if possible, with Tartaric and Mongolic.” [*Laughter.*] Honorable members laugh, and very naturally; but we are dealing with university affairs, and we must introduce words and subjects very unfamiliar to our usual debates. Mr. Max Müller goes on to observe:

“Such a staff, though it may seem large, exists in almost every university in France, Germany, and even Russia, the Professor being expected not only to teach and prepare pupils for examination, but to inspire them with a love of special subjects, to carry on the work handed down by former generations, and to increase as much as possible the inherited capital of knowledge by means of original research.”

Now, I beg the House to consider this statement. It sounds strange to us, but if other great nations act thus, can it be so very unreasonable? Mr. Max Müller proceeds to say:

“Considering the peculiar duties which England has undertaken to fulfil in India, a Professorship of the Neo-Sanscritic languages (Bengali, Hindustani, Mahratti, &c.,) and of the Dravidian languages (Tamil, Telugu, Canarese, &c.,) would likewise seem to be required in the first university of the English Empire.”

The non-existence at Oxford of any adequate representation of the various branches of knowledge which are specially Indian is surely one of the very strangest phenomena observable in Europe. There died the other day a great Persian scholar who had made his fame in a land not his own. If an English student wanted to attend the lectures of M. Jules Mohl, whither had he to go—to an English university? No, to the Collège de France. Yet, what interests has France in Persia, or Persian, at all comparable to ours? The noble lord, the Under Secretary for India, will correct me if I am wrong when I say that the decay of Persian learning amongst Indian officers is a serious practical inconvenience—an inconvenience which has attracted the attention of Government, and to which it is not easy to apply a remedy. Quite recently several of the Indian languages have become recognised at Oxford; but I remember when there was not even a teacher of Hindustani; and, to this hour, if any one wants to have a notion of what is doing in current Indian literature, he must turn again to the Collège de France and read the annual statement of one of its Professors—M. Garcin de Tassy. Let any one who cares for the good name of Oxford look at what the Orientalists have done since the days of Sir William Jones, and then count up what share Oxford has had in that splendid page of

human history. It is getting late, but it is not yet too late for her still to take her part. Can the present generation of her children really wish that her historians in the end of the next century shall not have a very different tale to tell from what could be told of her now? What should we think of any other nation which had such an appanage as India and did not recognise it in its greatest national university? Do the Dutch at Leyden ignore their Eastern possessions? Very far from it. The mere fact that Haileybury was created far away from either Oxford or Cambridge speaks volumes as to the melancholy state in which they were in those days.

[*House of Commons, July 6th, 1876.*]

EDUCATIONAL ENDOWMENT IN SCOTLAND.

In the view, then,—the unanimous view of the Commissioners,—the things most wanted in Scotland are better secondary schools, technical schools, and a means by which deserving boys of the very poorest class can rise step by step, so as to have, if their abilities, application, and good conduct make them worthy of it, the very best education that their country affords. To provide that appears to me the truest charity, and if the least fortunate classes of this country knew their own interests, they would never rest till they were able to say, Scotland is a land in which there is a self-acting machinery by which the child of the poorest labourer is certain, if he is *remarkably* gifted, to have as good an opportunity of obtaining a first-rate education, so far as that can be got within the bounds of Scotland, as the son of the greatest nobleman. And when they are able to say this, they should not rest until they are able to add: And further, there is at our Scotch Universities a self-acting machinery by which the youths of the greatest promise are sent forth to gather in the universities of other lands the very best fruits of learning which these afford, with no other obligation than

to give on their return, under proper regulations, one or more courses of lectures at home.

Do not misconceive me. I know that even if every penny to which the recommendations of the Commissioners apply were used so as to obtain the maximum of good which it ought to produce, we should not yet have enough to make the education of Scotland what it ought to be, but we should have, by making these funds do the very best they could for us, vastly improved it, and excited so much public attention on the subject that we should be quite certain to get, in a very few years, all the money we wanted.

I know we *need* more money, but, at the same time, it should not be forgotten that we *have* more money applicable strictly to secondary education in Scotland than our neighbours beyond the Tweed. Mr. Sellar, who has given so much attention to Scotch education, in a note to his excellent pamphlet, lately published by Messrs. Blackwood, observes: "From a Parliamentary Return issued recently, it appears that (excluding the revenues of the nine public schools, and the small endowments under £100 a-year, which are dealt with by section 3 of the Endowed Schools Act of 1873, and which are of little value,) the annual amount of educational endowments for schools, not universities in England and Wales, I understand, is £596,493, or rather over 6½*d.* a-head on a population of 22,712,266. The annual value of the Scottish endowment is, in round numbers, £175,000, which on a population of 3,360,018, is, as nearly as possible, 1*s.* 0½*d.* per head.

What a prodigious step forward we should make if we could only apply wisely the funds which are being unwisely applied in most of the great hospitals around Edinburgh. I will not dwell upon this part of the subject, because I think that the opinion of people in Scotland, who are not directly connected with the management of these institutions, is pretty

well what I would wish it to be. But we should soon get the additional money we wanted. As I pointed out in the House of Commons last summer, we have come to a time when great wealth has become so common that it no longer by itself gives, as it used to do, great personal importance to its possessor. In the last century, when an Indian Nabob returned with what was then considered a vast fortune, and what would now be considered a moderate competence, he bought boroughs, but in these days no man, however rich, can do that. He may corrupt a single borough, and get in for it, if he is fortunate enough to escape from the meshes of the law, but he cannot become a borough proprietor of the good old kind. Wealth is ceasing—in short, more and more to be able to buy *direct political power*. Then, again, it is becoming more and more difficult for a new man, however rich, to buy up great tracts of country, and so obtain indirect *political power*. Further, there is less and less to be done in the way of getting *distinction by any amount of collecting*. A man may spend tens of thousands in works of art now-a-days without ever being heard of out of his own neighbourhood beyond the limits of the auction rooms. It is only at distant intervals that any one gets such a chance as occurred last summer, and is able to connect his name with a great historical collection like the Marlborough Gems. Lastly, wealth taken by itself has wholly ceased to buy *social success*. A man who has only wealth may build a palace and fill it with all the treasures of Aladdin without its helping him at all in that way.

How, then, is the new wealth of the country to find an outlet? how is it to buy that distinction for its possessors of which they are naturally and rightly ambitious? How, except by enabling them to sustain the part of great citizens, by enabling them to be conspicuous for the things they have done for their country at large. A man of wealth who wishes to get into Parliament sometimes begins operations by

giving a sum of money for some public purpose in a manufacturing town. He does a good deed, and that good deed very likely effects its object, and causes him to be sent into Parliament as a benefactor to the place. But when he gets into Parliament what good does it do him? He is one amongst many unobserved, and nearly unknown; but supposing the same man devoted his money to doing some great deed which would catch the eye of the whole country, as to which all the best men in the country would say, "this was the very thing which should have been done; it is the power to do such things as this that makes vast wealth a blessing to its possessor;" would not such a man take a place apart? would he not be thought of by his countrymen as quite as great a man in his way as the representatives of the old territorial houses who are connected with our history, and would not that kind of personal nobility conferred by the suffrage of a grateful people be equal in value to all but the very highest political success.

But the people I am thinking of do not aspire to the highest political success. They come too late into politics. I confess I often feel sad to see men drearily circulating through the division lobbies, content to be mere pawns in the game which is played by others, when they could be so infinitely greater, as well as more useful, by standing on their own individual importance and administering their wealth for noble ends.

What I am pointing to has not been very much done for a variety of reasons, but chiefly because till this century so few people who were not called by their position to take part in politics had any wealth at all. I must go back for a perfect illustration to the case of my friend Herodes Atticus, which I quoted in the House of Commons last year. What a good investment of his money he made! Not only was he highly considered in his lifetime, but no intelligent man goes

to Rome or Athens now without taking off his hat to him, although he has been in his grave some 1,700 years.

Bequests have been far commoner, of course. Just look what an enormous amount of good has been done by one wise bequest of this sort in these three North-Eastern Counties. See what Mr. Dick of Forres did. Now, gentlemen, the way to attract gifts and bequests of this kind is to do the very best with the bequests we have got. You often hear people say, "Oh, Parliament must not meddle with endowments, because, if it does, people will not leave their money for public purposes." There is no greater mistake. A man who presumes to foresee the best way of disposing of his money for uncounted generations after him is either a religious fanatic, who believes that his particular church or sect is in the possession of all wisdom, or he is a presumptuous fool. Why, the very man who left the fund, which still exists in the City of London, for buying faggots for the burning of heretics would, if he were alive now, wish to put his money to some more amiable use. I know men, and some of the wisest of their generation, who would not leave a penny for endowment, simply because they have seen so much of the mischief arising from unreformed endowments, which has gone on before their eyes in England, where there are so many.

Pray do not understand me to say that education is the *only* great public good to which money might be devoted by any one who has the noble ambition of being a great citizen. Of course, there are countless others. The Italian, for example, who is, as it is said, going to give £800,000 to Genoa with a view to make it once more a great commercial city, does no doubt a useful work, all the more useful from its being a work historically justified. I have no belief in education being a panacea for human ills; it is merely one power making for good amongst many, but history goes for some-

thing. It is chiefly by the superior education of its humbler classes that Scotland has hitherto prospered, *In hoc signo vicimus*. It is by this that we have been enabled to send forth young men who have filled places of honor and difficulty in all lands, and have returned so often to spend their hard-earned wealth in improving the barren soil of their native country, or in endowing it with institutions which, if well managed and adapted from time to time to the circumstances of the age, may, in their turn, send forth other young men to go and do likewise; and I think that, in wishing in this manner to stand on the old paths, to give to Scotland the best nineteenth century education, as the men of the Reformation period wished to give it the best sixteenth century education, I deserve the sympathy as well of enlightened Conservatives as of all real Liberals.

[*At Elgin, Feb. 5th, 1876.*]

EDUCATIONAL ENDOWMENT IN ENGLAND.

* * * *

When I compare the educational endowments of England as they are, with the educational endowments of England as they might be, I always think of the contrast of the Pontine marshes and certain portions of the plain of Lombardy. In the first of these, the waters, unscientifically distributed, not only fail to benefit, but produce pestilence; in the second, the waters, judiciously managed, spread everywhere abundance and prosperity. Or, again, I think of the Val di Chiana as it was—the opprobrium of Central Italy—and the Val di Chiana as it is—a garden of delight. We want some one to do for the educational waters of England what Fossombrone did for the waters of Tuscany. We want a Minister of Public Instruction as great as William von Humboldt.

Speech at the first public distribution of prizes in connection with the Middle-class Schools Corporation, Bath Street, City Road.]

THE EDUCATOR AND THE DIAMOND-CUTTER.

"The more many-sided, the more original," said one of the wisest of men. We ought to imitate the diamond-cutter, in turning to the polishing material one surface after another, until the stone has attained the utmost degree of beauty of which it is capable—until, in fact, it has become a perfectly-cut brilliant.

Educators have in general got no farther in their art than Louis de Berghem had in his. Louis de Berghem was a lapidary of Bruges, who first in Europe attained to cutting the diamond at all, and worked for Charles the Bold. The best he could do was to cut the "table diamond," which does no justice to the stone, and is, I think, never seen in modern European jewellery. Later came others, who invented the "rose," which has the surface cut into twenty-four sides or facets, while the base remains flat. The ordinary educator has never got so far, or nearly so far as this. Still less has he attained to the art of cutting the "brilliant," which has thirty-two sides or facets above and twenty-four below the broadest part, and which alone does justice to the most exquisite of stones, reflecting the light in all directions, beautiful itself, and making beautiful. There are many stones very fit for the purposes of life, and some very fit for ornament, which are not diamonds. Primary education deals with the first; secondary education with these and some of the second. None who are not precious or semi-precious stones should be submitted to the higher education at all; but then in the human race there are, I maintain, a great many more precious and semi-precious stones than is usually supposed. The saying that "*le talent court les rues*" may seem a hard one out of great cities; but in the dullest country neighbourhood it is not natural ability that is wanting. Even the diamond as it comes from the gravel is an ugly octahedron enough.

The analogy between the operations of the lapidary and of the educator might be carried a good deal farther. It would be easy, for example, to show that just as the former had succeeded in cutting stones most exquisitely so that they should bear and transmit some particular impression, long ages before he understood to cut stones in the way to show their own beauties to most advantage, so the educator had again and again succeeded to admiration in getting some particular impress cut on the mind.

From Lyourgus and his Spartans to Loyola or Lainez and the Great Order, the art of educational gem-engraving has flourished and produced results constantly wonderful and often enchanting. Not unfrequently far better results may have been produced by engraving this or that stone as a gem than could be produced by another treatment, but it is not a method applicable to the finest stones. The diamond has hardly ever submitted to it, and it becomes rarer and rarer in the ascending scale of the harder and more precious stones. Sometimes, in the process of cutting, the stone will be found not a precious stone at all, or a very badly-flawed one. Who does not remember the case of Philip Stanhope, to whom Chesterfield's letters were addressed? But then accidents are inevitable in any system, and Philip Stanhope—submitted to the usual school and college routine of his day—would have been far inferior even to what he turned out.

[*Higher and Secondary Education. An Address delivered in the Liverpool Institute, November 8th, 1876.*]

TEACH GREEK AS A MODERN LANGUAGE.

I cannot understand, now that the position of Greek in education is threatened, why the heads of the great schools have not the wit to see that they would immensely strengthen the position of Greek in education if they could say to parents—You are much in favor of modern languages. Well, now,

by teaching Greek I not only give your son a key to some of the finest literature that has ever been composed, but I increase his efficiency as a practical man—a man of the world. The Greeks of the Kingdom have certainly made a mess of their political affairs, but they have succeeded in purifying their language, and there can be no doubt that that language has a very considerable future in the Eastern Mediterranean. Already politicians begin to speculate upon changes in the Balkan Peninsula, which will one way or other greatly increase the importance of the Greeks. You won't have the *grande idée* realised—that is, a dream; but the Greeks stand to win a good deal whatever happens. This very day you might speak and write the Greek of, say, Dion Chrysostom, and be perfectly well understood at Athens, if only you pronounced it as the Greeks do; and by the time your son is in middle life a thorough acquaintance with Greek will be a real advantage, for the class of persons who are sufficiently educated to speak the language purely is rapidly increasing, as it is sure to do in a country—the only one, I believe, in Europe where school-boys like learning their lessons. [As above.]

A PROFESSOR OF WISE IGNORANCE.

The line which bounds general education is, after all, only an imaginary one. General education should only end with life; but men who are to be busy with the world's work will, after one or two and twenty, begin to find the time they can give, in the course of the day, to general education much shorter than it used to be. Still, so great are the facilities which modern life affords that those who are now just beginning their general education, with the prospect of having *all the chances*, may well hope, if they live out their years and retain their energies, not only to know all the most important facts which man has found out about himself and the universe of which he forms part, but to have seen, heard, and read,

before they die, all that is best and most beautiful in that portion of the universe which serves as man's habitation. In order to do this they must from the very first be carefully prevented wasting their time on second and third rate things. The real use of teachers, properly so called, after the very first youth has been passed, would be chiefly to keep us within the limits of the really valuable and excellent. Not the least desirable professor in any university would he be who would tell us faithfully and wisely what famous books we had better leave on the bookshelves, what famous places we need not visit, what famous theories are cinders, ashes, dust. I am not aware, however, that the appointment of so useful a person falls within even the very extensive powers which are to be acquired by the University Commissioners under the Act of this year. We must be content to make many mistakes, but if there once arises amongst men and women of the world a real demand for the help necessary to such an educational course for their children as I have sketched, there will be found persons to supply the want.

And is it possible that such a demand should not arise? Into what company of people, who know the world, does one enter without hearing lamentations over the miserable results of our present schools, their wonderful powers of boobyising the inferior, their scant success in making much of the superior boy?

[*A Plea for a Rational Education*, 1877.]

SKETCH OF A GREEK COURSE SUITABLE TO THE BREVITY
OF HUMAN LIFE.

We will take Greek first. The ground-work of the whole course should be some good short History and Geography of Greece. I know none which exactly fulfils all requirements; but if I had to put any one through such a course, I would take a good Atlas, Dawson Turner's "Heads of an

Analysis," with a short school history, and supplement them by selected passages from Grote and Curtius. In the original I would read—

The first and last books of the *Iliad*;
 The sixth book of the *Odyssey*;
 Wright's *Golden Treasury of Ancient Greek Poetry*;
 Thackeray's "*Anthologia*," if there existed an edition in print that would not try the eyes;
 The second book of Herodotus;
 The *Prometheus* and the *Persæ*, or the *Agamemnon*;
 The *Œdipus Coloneus*;
 The *Medea*, or
 The *Bacchæ*;
 The *Birds* or *Frogs* of Aristophanes;
 The first, second, and seventh books of Thucydides;
 The first book of the *Anabasis*;
 The *Phædo* of Plato;
 The fourth book of Aristotle's *Ethics*;

The second book of Aristotle's *Politics*;
 Demosthenes' *De Coronâ*;
 The first book of Polybius;
 One or more lives from Plutarch;
 Extracts from Lucian;
 The *Manual* of Epictetus;
 The latter part of the book of Isaiah (that known as the later Isaiah) in the Septuagint;
 Parts of the *Apocrypha*;
 The Gospel of St. John;
 A small volume of selections from the *Fathers*; and
 A short book of extracts from Greek literature at different times right down to the present year.

In translations I would read at least—

The remainder of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in Worsley and Conington;
 The whole of the rest of Herodotus.

The whole of the rest of Thucydides;
 and
 Marcus Aurelius.

The course should be completed by "*Müller's History of Greek Literature*," read for the purpose of making it clear to the learner that he had obtained nothing more than a view, from the mountain-top, of a country in which it is hoped that, in after years, he would make many excursions.

[*As above.*]

SKETCH OF A LATIN COURSE SUITABLE TO THE BREVITY OF HUMAN LIFE.

Latin should be begun precisely in the same way as Greek, by the easiest possible grammar, and the learner, who would be provided already with a very large stock of

words, should begin here, too, to translate on his very first day. Much time would be gained by leaving on one side various books which are of little or no importance, such as Cornelius Nepos. The minimum course might then be—

A good short history, say Duruy's, illustrated by copious extracts from Arnold, Mommsen, Merivale, and Gibbon, read with good maps; One play of Terence and one of Plautus;

The part of Cæsar's Commentaries which relates to Britain.

Virgil's first, fourth, and tenth Eclogues;

The Georgics;

The second, fourth, and sixth Æneid;

About forty odes of Horace, carefully leaving untouched all except the very best;

Two or three of the Satires and Epistles, including the *Ars Poetica*;

Thackeray's *Anthologia Latina*;

The third, fourth, and tenth Satires of Juvenal;

The twenty-first book of Livy;

A book of Cicero's Letters;

Two or three of his Orations;

A book of Pliny's Letters;

The best parts of Lucan;

Agricola and Germania of Tacitus;

Illustrations of M. Martha's book as above;

The story of Psyche in Apuleius;

A selection containing the most striking passages in the writings of the Latin Fathers; and

Another selection from the best modern Latin, prose or verse, Erasmus, Owen, &c.

The whole should be accompanied by the very best account of Latin literature that may be procurable. The fullest I know, that of Teuffel, is far too drily written for the purpose; but if the necessity for reading a good history of Roman literature, as a part of education, were duly recognised, we should soon have the necessary treatise—if, indeed, it does not already exist. There is room, too, for a much fuller book of extracts from Latin poetry than Mr. Thackeray's very excellent one; and it should extend so far down as to include the most famous hymns of the Western Church.

[*As above.*]

ACCURATE TRANSLATION.

It is necessary to point out that, however childish a pursuit "Scholarship" may be, in the sense of the imitation of the Latin and Greek authors; however absurd it may be to encour-

age in boys who are intended to be busy men of the *modern*, not professional students of the *ancient* world, any intense application to the niceties of Greek and Latin grammar, it is difficult to attach too much importance to perfectly accurate translation into English. Whatever is read for educational purposes, in any language, should be read with the utmost care, and no difficulty should be slurred over. If this caution be neglected, we shall sacrifice the one good thing in the old training—the accuracy to which it accustomed those with whom it succeeded. One of its many faults was that it did not succeed, but failed, with nine out of ten; and that it trained those with whom it succeeded chiefly to be accurate in nonsense, to the destruction of the time and energy which should have been bestowed upon studies at once more educative and more instructive.

I must protest, in the most emphatic way, against my being called an enemy of classical education. I maintain that the classical education, which I would give, would be of an infinitely higher and better kind than the present, while it would occupy far less time. I think that we should exhaust every device of ingenuity to make this and all other studies as easy, and even as pleasant, as possible. I utterly abhor that “doctrine and position,” that difficulty is a good in itself. It is quite impossible to learn anything well, without encountering much and serious difficulty; but while he who shirks difficulty, where it must be faced, is a coward, he who goes out of his way to seek difficulty is a fool.

[*As above.*]

ENGLISH SCHOOLS IN 1877.

Those well-to-do parents, who will not take the amount of trouble which is no doubt necessary, if they mean to educate their children to some extent abroad, had better give up the idea of educating them well at all, and, sending them to some approved preparatory school, let them go through the

usual mill, with the usual notable success, well described by the Public Schools Commission, which reported in 1864, in the following passage—one that can hardly be quoted too often, since in it, oh fathers and mothers of England, you have, as in a glass, the reflection of what those of your sons who went up to the University, without the intention of taking honours there, were a few years ago, and a pretty fair representation of what they are now :—

“If a youth, after four or five years spent at school, quits it at nineteen, unable to construe an easy bit of Latin or Greek without the help of a dictionary, or to write Latin grammatically, almost ignorant of geography and of the history of his own country, unacquainted with any modern language but his own, and hardly competent to write English correctly, to do a simple sum, or stumble through an easy problem of Euclid, a total stranger to the laws which govern the physical world, and to its structure, with an eye and hand unpractised in drawing, and without knowing a note of music, with an uncultivated mind and no taste for reading or observation, his intellectual education must certainly be accounted a failure, though there may be no fault to find with his principles, character, or manners. We by no means intend to represent this as a type of the ordinary product of English public school education; but, speaking both from the evidence we have received and from opportunities of observation open to all, we must say that it is a type much more common than it ought to be, making ample allowance for the difficulties that have to be contended with, and that the proportion of failures is therefore unduly large.”

Put down this description on one side of the account, and the total of your school bills on the other, and see how you like the result.

You console yourselves, perhaps, with the reflection that your sons are at least gentlemen, and that is something. Of course it is; gentlemen they went into the mill, and gentlemen they have come out. The splendid foundations of mediæval piety or benevolence, and the stream of gold which you have poured into the pockets of masters, tutors, and other officials, have so far worked together for good that they have neither injured the physical health nor the moral character of the young persons in whom you are interested,—always excepting failures, and failures there will be in all systems. Well, that is a fine result doubtless, but it will not enable your sons to

keep their place in society in these pushing democratic days. When will the lesson, into learning which one revolution after another has startled the great ones of the earth, be taken to heart by you also, that, namely, you must make your children worthy of the position into which they are born? Take, choosing them by lot, a certain number of the members of the European-royal and semi-royal families under five-and-twenty, and an equal number of men, educated at our public schools, of the same age, also chosen by lot; submit them to an examination on the subjects which men and women of the world care to know, and just see what a miserable figure will be made by the representatives of our much-be-praised education.

Your children have sometimes a better idea of what it all comes to than you have. Some years ago a boy was reproached by his master for his not being able to answer a simple question. "Why," said his tutor, "your younger brother knows that." "Oh yes, sir," was the reply, "but then he has been at Eton a much shorter time than I have. When he has been here as long, you will find he knows as little as I do."

ENGLISH EDUCATION IN 1861 AND 1877.

Many of us who were not, alas! so old then as we are now, fondly imagined, when the Palmerston Government appointed the Commission to inquire into the nine great schools, in 1861, that when we ourselves had children fit to go to those schools, they would be able to obtain a really good education there. Now, however, in 1877, although doubtless many improvements have been made, it would be mere flattery to say that anything which deserves to be called a good education, for the ordinary purposes of a man of the world, is to be obtained at any one of them. The schools throw the blame on Universities, and the Universities

on the schools; I throw the blame on no one—I merely register an unpleasant state of facts. I do not even say that a good education may not be obtained at our great schools *for some purposes or other*. I only venture to affirm that, for any purposes with which I am acquainted, the education is a very miserable one; and that I see its bad effects in the world of English politics at every turn. Let those who are satisfied with it by all means retain their happy contentment; but many people whom I meet are not satisfied, and perhaps some of the foregoing remarks may be of aid or comfort to a few of these.

Train the admirable Crichtons as you please; *they* cannot be spoiled irretrievably. Sooner or later they will fight their way to the front; but the sensible cleverish boys, who might have made valuable men, are turned into barbarians or Philistines by the dozen, and that at a cost to their parents, between seven and twenty-one, of from two thousand five hundred to four thousand pounds. [As above.]

CHESTERFIELD'S EDUCATIONAL METHOD.

It would have been vain to argue in favour of Chesterfield's method from the accident of its having succeeded in the case of Philip Stanhope, and it is equally vain to argue against it from the accident of its having partially failed with him. It must be judged on its own merits, but it would be very interesting to learn from some critic who, like Chesterfield, had directed great affairs, what, if any, are its weak points, other than those which, however important, are not of its essence, and to which I have pointedly called attention at the outset of these remarks.

If Chesterfield's method, with the large modifications which have been suggested, is not the best education for a statesman before he is old enough to take a part in politics, then which is the best?

That is a question which *les classes dirigeantes* in all countries had better ask and answer wisely, if they are not ere long to be contemptuously thrust aside by the new social strata as *les classes digérantes*. Let them show that they are fit to lead, and they will continue to do so for many a long day, at least in England. They have wealth and hereditary predisposition in their favour; why should they not add to these advantages a reasonable amount of taking trouble?

When every other avocation is beginning to discard mere rule of thumb, perhaps a little more systematic training for the most dignified of all avocations would not be wholly amiss. From time to time some political genius appears who seems so great that no training would have made him greater. That, however, is probably an optical illusion, produced by the atmosphere of admiration through which we gaze on him. Even in Medicine we hear of wonderful things being done by irregular practitioners. An orthodox physician said, disparaging one of these who was attending a friend of mine the other day, "*Ce n'est pas un médecin, c'est un guérisseur!*" We may smile at that, but none the less do we usually prefer that our medical attendants should have been educated for their profession.

* * * * *

A modern English statesman, who limited his views as completely to Europe as Chesterfield very properly did, would inevitably be a very bad statesman. Nearly the whole of our existing colonial empire, and nearly the whole of our Indian Empire, have grown up since those days. In one of his later letters Chesterfield just mentions Clive, but, naturally, without having the faintest inkling of the way in which the deeds of the "bright-eyed young adventurer" would react upon and complicate our European position. An English statesman must in these days, if he would be anything but a blind guide, extend his view over the whole world.

To him, more than to anybody else, apply the wise words of M. Laffitte, in his remarkable, and surely not sufficiently well-known book, *Les grands types de l' Humanité* :—

“Les chefs Européens, il y a encore deux siècles, n' avaient guère à porter leur regards au delà de l'Occident. C'est tout au plus si la Turquie, de temps à autre, venait leur rappeler qu'il existait des orientaux. Toute la diplomatie se pratiquait entre populations qui s'étaient élevées ensemble, qui avaient contribué toutes, bien qu'à des degrés divers, à fonder une même civilisation, qui possédaient une croyance commune, dont les mœurs et les lois n'étaient point trop différentes. Mais aujourd'hui l' homme d'état doit porter dans sa tête la planète entière. L'Occident n'est qu'un point, l'Afrique et l' Asie l'inquiètent autant et plus qu'une partie quelconque de la vieille Europe ; il faut conclure des traités avec les peuples de l'extrême Orient ; il faut savoir ce qui se passe à Pékin, à Jeddo, à Calcutta, ou à Benarès. Comment cultiver ces relations, nouer ces alliances, gouverner en un mot, si l'on ignore ces populations, si l'on n'apprécie pas à leur valeur les civilisations qu'elles ont constituées ? Le temps où l'on traitait de barbares ou d'imbéciles tout ce qui n'était pas chrétien est définitivement passé.”

If, then, some knowledge of India and other Asiatic countries, together with some acquaintance with the British colonies, must be added to those subjects on which Chesterfield insisted, it is evident that we want more time. But the two great subjects we have mentioned are far indeed from exhausting the list of new requirements. The relations not only of the states of the Old World, but of those of the New, have become part of the knowledge which a man who destined his son for a political career, with the hopes which Chesterfield kept before his mind, would naturally desire him to possess.

[*Fortnightly Review*, 1879.]

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY—M. DE MONTALEMBERT.

I am particularly glad to have an opportunity of expressing these sentiments here, and now, because within the last few weeks similar views have been enunciated by one standing at the opposite pole of opinion—I mean the great Roman Catholic orator, M. de Montalembert. Some of you may not be aware that we have a closer connection with that illustrious inheritor of the tradition of French eloquence than would at first sight appear, for by the mother's side he comes of the good stock of the Forbeses of Donside, and his immediate ancestor once held the property of Corsindae, which is within a drive of Kintore and Inverurie. His speech at Malines has only reached me in fragments, and some of the fragments are not quite consistent with others; but the fact that, in the city which has been justly called the "Rome of Flanders," he should have ventured, amidst the applause of many hundreds, who hailed him as the Son of the Crusaders, to utter such words as these, is surely a most noticeable circumstance:—

"Without mental reservation, and without hesitation, I declare myself, in the interest of Catholicism itself, an upholder of liberty of conscience. I frankly accept all its consequences—all those which public morality does not reprobate, and which equity commands. This leads me to a delicate but essential question. I will attack it directly, because in all discussions of this nature I have always recognised the necessity of anticipating an uneasiness which is too natural and often very sincere in the adversaries of the liberty of Catholics. Can one at the present day demand liberty for truth; that is to say, for oneself (since every one, if he be sincere, believes himself a follower of the truth), and refuse it to error—that is to say, to those who do not think as we do? I distinctly reply, 'No.' . . . The faggots lighted by a Catholic hand inspire me with as much horror as the scaffolds on which the Protestants immolated so many

martyrs. 'The gag forced into the mouth of whomsoever lifts up his voice with a pure heart to preach his faith—that gag I feel between my own lips, and I shudder with pain . . . The Spanish Inquisition saying to the heretic, 'The truth, or death,' is as odious to me as the French terrorist saying to my grandfather, "Liberty, fraternity, or death." The human conscience has the right to insist that those hideous alternatives shall never again be presented to it."

Realise who the man is who spoke these noble words. He is not a lukewarm Catholic. He is an Ultramontane of the Ultramontanes. The See of Peter has no more devoted son; and are we, the liberals of Protestant and intellectual Scotland, to be less liberal than he? The commercial men of this country have come at length to know that commerce has nothing to ask from Government except to be let alone. When will religious men throughout the world learn that religion flourishes best where it is least trammelled by the dangerous protection of statesmen? Who is to be the Adam Smith of the Piety of Nations? Who are to be the Brights and Cobdens of unfettered Thought? We are passing, as I have said, to a period in which questions of religious liberty will have unusual prominence; but, as the Liberal party triumphs on each successive question, one more subject will be removed from the sphere of politics, one more step will be made towards that state of things which would long ago have come about if men would only have obeyed the sublime precept—"Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's."

[*At Elgin, September 9th, 1863.*]

THE IRISH CHURCH.

The gigantic grievance of the Irish Establishment—the only grievance in the United Kingdom which can be classed with the great political grievances which still exist in various

parts of the Continent, and from time to time excite the indignant sympathy of England,—was, as some of you may recollect, formerly a favourite topic with the Liberal party. For some years circumstances have thrown it into the shade. But although it has been in the shade, it has been active for evil, still eating like a canker into the heart of our national strength, and doing more than anything else to make Ireland a standing menace—the ready ally of our bitterest foes. There is no reform which has not yet been carried out, in favour of which so vast a “cloud of witnesses” can be collected. Lord Palmerston and Mr. Disraeli, Lord Macaulay and Sir Edward Lytton, Sir James Mackintosh and Mr. Grote, Sidney Smith and Lord Melbourne, Lord Jeffrey and Earl Russell, have all pronounced against this leviathan injustice. In fact, the difficulty is to find the names of eminent politicians who have *not* recorded their abhorrence of it in strong terms. Even the late Sir Robert Peel is said to have remarked, when some foolish person spoke of the Irish Church as an engine for spreading Protestantism—“Can you show a balance of 200 converts in the last 200 years?” The men who are at the head of affairs will not, however, take up this great question, because they shrink very naturally from encountering storms at their advanced period of life. That which is prudence and wisdom in old age may, however, be cowardice in youth.

[*At Elgin, September 9th, 1863.*]

OXFORD TESTS ABOLITION, 1864.

I regret to find that the honorable Baronet who has just sat down has no intention of accepting the conciliatory proposal of my honorable friend the Member for East Sussex. That proposal should not be misunderstood. We have no idea of yielding the point about the vote in Convocation; all we say is that that point, although an important one, is but a single

point, and not the principle of the Bill, and we think that the fight over it might well be postponed till we go into Committee ; but before I go further, Sir, there is one assertion of the honorable Baronet so novel and extraordinary that I must really draw attention to it. Where is his authority for the statement that the University of Oxford is a Church institution ? Every one knows that, from accidental circumstances, it has been very closely connected with the Church ; but it is a lay corporation, and if any evidence can be given in favour of the view put forward on the other side, I hope we shall hear something more about it from succeeding speakers.

I have allowed my name to be put on the back of this Bill for three reasons : First, because I think it makes a reasonable concession to the claims of the Liberal party within the Church ; secondly, because it makes a concession too slight, but still a concession, to the claims of Nonconformists ; and thirdly, because, independently of its influence on the fortunes of any sect or party, I think it will be useful to the university. My honorable friend's Bill echoes, as has been said, the petition presented last Session from 106 members of the University of Oxford—a number considerable in itself, but far more significant when we recollect who were the petitioners, and how strong were the motives to induce them not to sign. These 106 represent a very large and very influential section of University men, but, above all, they represent a growing party—a party which is becoming stronger with every succeeding term.

In the years between 1827 and 1833 it became sufficiently evident that the movement which had rolled all over Europe, and had in this country carried successively the repeal of the Test Act, Catholic Emancipation, and the Reform Bill, had reached at last even the University of Oxford, and there seemed not a little chance that that great corporation might awake from the sleep in which it had been long held, and make

at least some steps forward, carrying the Church of England along with it.

No sooner, however, had the first symptoms of a desire for progress shown themselves than some of the most intelligent men of the University began, compelled by the influences amidst which they had been brought up, to look about and see whether it was altogether necessary to yield to this movement from without; whether there were no forces other than the mere high-and-dry Church and King Toryism, which could be brought into the field. They fell back upon the Laudian theology, and called to their aid the Church principles of the seventeenth century. The principles which they enunciated in the "Tracts for the Times" had infinitely greater charms for the minds of young men at the University than the dull and lifeless theology which had previously been in fashion there, or than the productions of another school which was widely popular in that day in various parts of the country, but which, for reasons to which it is unnecessary to allude, never flourished in the atmosphere of Oxford. The great majority of the ablest young men who were educated there during that period, fell under the influence of the new teachers, who succeeded not only in damming back but even altering the direction of the current of thought in Oxford for twelve years.

Well, time passed on; "the merciless logic" of the leader of the movement brought its natural results to him and to others. The great secession to Rome took place. Then came a change at Oxford. A few followed, one by one, with hesitating steps, but many paused, and listened to other voices before they went further. And other voices soon made themselves heard. Men who had been formed under Arnold at Rugby were just old enough to speak with some authority in the University, and hardly had they begun to fill the void than the new burst of liberal opinion, which shook half the

thrones of the continent, came to scatter mediæval fancies. Those who were at Oxford in those days will not readily forget the abiding change which the events of that year produced, increasing tenfold the interest in, and knowledge of, the continent—its social, political, and religious modes of thought. Since February 1848, the history of opinion in Oxford is merely a branch of the general history of religious opinion in Protestant Europe. It has lost altogether the curiously local and exceptional character which it had during the so-called Oxford movement. Any one could foresee what would be the end of that movement who had read the history of the great storm of the seventeenth century, or had observed the ripples of reactionary opinion in Italy, France, or Germany, in the first half of this century. But he who presumes to say how and when the present movement will end must be able to look far down through history, and calculate the results of influences such as have never before been called into action. Point out to me any Protestant community in Europe in which reforming agencies are not being set to work as powerful as any of those which heralded the revolt of the human mind against the Latin Church. In England, in Scotland, in Germany, in France, in Switzerland, in Holland, I see everywhere the same questions being raised, and becoming the property no longer of a few thinkers but of the great public. It is not as if it were a new movement; it is a very old one, and can be traced year by year, name by name, from the days of Bacon to our own.

Do you deny that it has made itself felt powerfully in Oxford? Do not look merely to this petition, or to this Bill; go down to Oxford and talk there with those who know what men are really thinking in the place. Is it seriously maintained that the obligation of adopting the Thirty-nine Articles and the Prayer Book which now exists, preserves anything like uniformity of opinion amongst members of Convocation?

Rome and Geneva, Tübingen and Canterbury, are hardly further apart than were many of the groups which gathered on Tuesday the 8th in the Sheldonian Theatre. Is there not something extremely absurd in the idea that Dr. Pusey and Mr. Maurice, Professor Jowett and Dr. Cotton, have all signed the Thirty-nine Articles and accepted the Prayer Book, and are, no doubt, perfectly ready to sign them again on the shortest notice?

I dare say many who hear me, read at the time the famous tract 90. Well, after the publication of the views therein contained,—views which are still, as every one knows, the views of not a few Clergymen of the Church of England,—what, I would venture to ask, can you expect from the Thirty-nine Articles? If the very views against which they were chiefly directed can be held in the teeth of them, how, in the name of wonder, are they, or the Prayer Book either, to exclude from the governing body of your Universities persons whose heresies were never dreamt of in the days of Queen Elizabeth?

We ought not to forget, Sir, that neither professors, nor tutors, nor clergymen in pulpits, are now the true teachers of Oxford. Books are its teachers, as they are ours; and I am ready to stake my whole case upon this assertion, that there is no one book written by any author living or lately dead which is now powerfully influencing men's minds, either in London or in Oxford, which breathes a spirit in the slightest degree favourable to the sort of views which commend themselves to the minds of those who are in favour of theological tests in learned institutions.

Is it worth while urging the immorality of a system which teaches men to think so little of what once was supposed to be a solemn engagement? Is it worth while to show that any man who can deliberately and *ex animo* adhere to every clause in the Thirty-nine Articles and the Prayer Book must either

be talking of what he does not understand, or must not only have mastered the results of all the controversies of the era of the Reformation, but must have thought himself, wonderful to relate, precisely into the intellectual attitude of the two different and opposing sets of men who drew up these forms 300 years ago? Every one gives himself a little latitude in subscribing, some more, some less, and must do so from the very nature of things. Is it worth while to point out to how many scrupulous people these tests are a cruel snare, or that the great originators of heresies are after all the test-bound clergy?

Turning, Sir, to the case of Nonconformists, I pass over numerous powerful arguments which have been, or will be, urged in the debate, such as, that this exclusion from the Universities is one of the last vestiges of persecution; that the Universities are the property of the nation, and not of any particular religious body or set of persons in it; that it is infinitely important for the whole nation as well as for the Nonconformists, that they should obtain that higher culture which Oxford gives and which they at present find it difficult to obtain; that religion has only to gain by the disappearance of sectarian hatreds; that, with a view to the maintenance of our position in the world, everything that promotes the unity of the nation is infinitely desirable; that certain sects of Nonconformists—the Methodists for example—cannot be said to have deserved ill of the Church; that in our Scotch Universities, not only is the governing body of the University open to all creeds, but all the professorships, except the divinity professorships, have been freed from tests, without the slightest bad effect upon the religious character of the nation. I will dwell, however, for a moment upon two other arguments which ought to have some weight with honorable gentlemen opposite. Have they really so little faith in the attractions of the Church of England as to doubt that it will rob many of the Nonconforming sects of some of their most distinguished young men,

if once the obligation of passing under the yoke of the Thirty-nine Articles and of the Prayer Book considered as a test at their M.A. degree is done away. Can any one doubt that many who go up Nonconformists will come away Churchmen in their hearts, if they are not compelled to an ignominious retraction? Again, Sir, can any one doubt that those honorable gentlemen upon the other side who dislike and fear the Liberal or movement party within the Church more than they fear and dislike almost any Nonconformists will find in "the orthodox Dissenters," if admitted to Convocation, most useful allies against their dreaded foes? Oxford has not been always so jealous about her tests. She was not even so jealous in days when toleration had made but little progress. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, a Greek College was established in Oxford for students of the Oriental Churches, and I do not read of any attempts having been made to proselytise the young men who attended it. This College was soon broken up, but from casual circumstances, and not from any religious motives—chiefly, I believe, because greater facilities were offered to Greek students in Halle and in Paris. From twenty to thirty years later, there was the case of Courayer, who was made a D.D. of Oxford, with all and each of the privileges appertaining to the doctorate in sacred theology. Courayer was then a Roman Catholic, and a Roman Catholic he remained to the day of his death, in spite of his Protestant or Anglican inclinations.

Lastly, Sir, I support this Bill, because I think it will be useful to the University. Experience has taught us that Oxford has always most flourished when clerical influence has been weakest there. Every improvement which has been made in the place in our times, and in all other times, has been made in the teeth of clerical opposition. With almost every humiliation that has befallen the University, from the earliest times down to the disgraceful scene which took place

upon the 8th March, clerical influence has been closely connected. Public opinion, acting either directly or through Parliament, has, on the other hand, always been her best friend, and assuredly she wants all her best friends at present. No one is a more attached or loyal member of that great corporation than I am; but I am obliged to confess, with sadness,—when I consider her vast wealth, her unequalled prestige, and her enormous influence,—that there is scarcely a University in Christendom which, in proportion to her means, is doing so little for science and good learning.

[*House of Commons, March 16th, 1864.*]

ADVICE TO ABERDEEN THEOLOGICAL STUDENTS.

Never fall into the foolish and supercilious error that you ought to preach down to your congregations, however far they may be removed from the centres of intelligence. Put your thoughts in the simplest language, but let them be your best thoughts, and, in every sermon that you preach, let there be some reflection from your latest reading. If you have to preach only once a week,—still more, if you have to preach twice, you cannot do so tolerably without reading a great deal. This business of reading is quite as important a part of your duty as any other, and must not be sacrificed even to pastoral work.

On the 22nd December 1866, the day after the one on which the voting for your Rector was going on here, another, and alas! far more eminent Rector,* in a distant country, thus addressed the theological students—

“Let me recommend this to you as a motto: *Theologus sum, nihil divini a me alienum puto*. Nothing divine, therefore nothing true, for all truth springs originally from God, should be strange to you.

* Dr. Döllinger.

“The whole history of mankind, in all its branches,—the science of Language, Archæology, Anthropology, the Comparative History of Religions, Jurisprudence, Philosophy and its history,—all this comes up to you, with the demand that you should intellectually master and overcome it. It is as in Mahomet’s paradise, where the very first tree calls out to the blessed, ‘Pluck my fruit, it is sweet,’ and instantly another tree calls to him, ‘Come hither to me, my fruit is still better.’ The individual, however great his thirst for knowledge may be, must sink under the burden of this gigantic task; but what is impossible to one, that may, at least approximately, be effected by the combined labours and endeavours of those who are like-minded.”

These words, which would have done honor to any Rectorial chair in Christendom, are still more remarkable when we consider where they were spoken. They were spoken in the presence of several members of what was, till very lately, one of the most bigoted of the ruling houses of Europe, in the upper basin of the Danube where the counter reformation worked so fiercely,—in the upper basin of the Danube, where the desperate but fruitless valour of the Protestant peasantry excited the admiration of Pappenheim. “Never,” said that famous Commander, “did I see such wild fury of war.”

[*First Rectorial Address at Aberdeen, March 1867.*]

ECCLESIASTICAL QUESTIONS IN 1867.

There is an argument which surely ought to have more weight than it has with educated political Conservatives. They should not forget that the words—

“Over the dumb Campagna sea,
Out in the offing in mist and rain,
St. Peter’s Church heaves silently,
Like a mighty ship in pain.”

are applicable, *mutatis mutandis*, to more than one great European communion. They know that the disturbing influences now at work in Churches are quite as formidable as those at work in States. Such being the case, where is the wisdom of grappling old ecclesiastical systems to old political systems, so as to give political innovators all the benefit of the assistance which can be brought to them by persons who take no thought of politics, but are strong partisans of dogmatic change? [At Elgin, 1867.]

UNIVERSITY TESTS ABOLITION, 1868.

The honorable gentleman who has just sat down has told us a great deal about the petitions which have been presented against this Bill; but although the two Universities have affixed their corporate seals to petitions against it, as indeed they have done to petitions against almost every good Bill in which they have been pleased to take an interest for several ages, the House is nevertheless aware that, in weighing petitions, quality must be considered as well as quantity.

Now, petitions have been received by the House which show that our Bill is supported very powerfully indeed amongst the persons who are really carrying on the educational work of our two Universities. So strongly, indeed, is it already supported by resident opinion in Oxford and Cambridge, and so steadily are the reformers gaining ground there, that I for one, after what has happened with regard to the Bill of the honorable member for Dumfries, would be quite content to leave this matter of tests in the hands of the working tutors and professors of the Universities, if they had the power to deal with it. Unfortunately, however, the ultimate power in the Universities resides not in the Universities themselves, but with the country clergy; and even if the country clergy were favourable to us, they could do nothing without the interference of this House, because what

we are striking at are not mere University regulations, but legislative enactments.

In advocating this Bill, I, though a humble member of the Church of England, admit most fully that I am thinking only of the nation at large and of the higher education in particular, and am taking no thought whatever of the sectarian interests either of the Church of England or of any other religious body; but, if it were any special business of mine to look after the sectarian interests of the Church of England, I have no hesitation in saying that I should adopt precisely the same policy. I am afraid I think better of the strength of the Church of England than her professed advocates; for I firmly believe that out of one hundred Nonconformists, who should go up to Oxford, 95 per cent. would leave it, if not Churchmen, at least very willing to live good friends of the Church considered as a religious institution, "buttresses," as Sydney Smith said, "if not pillars."

Honorable gentlemen opposite are as anxious to prevent Nonconformists going to Oxford, as was the friend of the Jew in the Decameron, to prevent him going to Rome; but, however badly they may think of the Church of England, as it appears in its favourite University, they may take comfort from that famous story, since they will remember that the Jew came back from Rome a very good Christian, for he said "that religion must be indeed divine which can maintain itself in spite of all that goes on in the high places of the Church." I take a different view from honorable gentlemen opposite. It appears to me that the English Church shows so well in both her Universities that the members of all sects who go up thither will be greatly shaken in their allegiance to their own sects, and drawn to one or other of her religious parties, always, of course, excepting the Roman Catholics, who can meet her prestige and traditions by a prestige and tradi-

tions older than her own; but then every one knows that, for the present, and for, I fear, a long time to come, the number of Roman Catholics who will go to our Universities is quite trifling. The whole influence of the Roman hierarchy in England and the whole strength of the party now in power at Rome will be exerted against their doing so.

Gentlemen on the other side are misled, I think, by the long connection between the Universities and the Church, but do they not comprehend that the only reason why the people have not long since interfered to put the Universities on a new footing is that, till quite recently, the mass of the people has felt no more interest in the internal affairs of Oxford and Cambridge than they have in the internal affairs of the Carlton or of Brooks's? Now, all that is being changed. The people are beginning to take an interest in the Universities. The question of their reform is becoming a question for addresses and hustings speeches. How then should the people of this free country, when they once begin to care about the Universities, allow *them* to remain in the hands of the dominant Church any more than is the case with the Universities of France or of Prussia, of Holland or of Switzerland, nay, even with those of Italy, hard by the cave of the old lion himself, if I may be permitted to borrow the expression of a Cardinal.

More than twenty years have gone by since the Scotch Universities liberated themselves, except as to Theological Chairs, from the last remnants of ecclesiastical control. Why is it that they so long preceded England in the path of reform? Simply because the Scotch Universities have a far greater hold on the masses of the nation than Oxford and Cambridge have hitherto had. If their concerns had been as remote from the business and bosoms of the majority of Scotchmen, as have been the concerns of the corresponding institutions in England from the business and

bosoms of the vast majority of Englishmen, who knows what strange customs and foolish tests might be now prevailing in Aberdeen or Glasgow? Till a few years ago, the truest reflection of the spirit, of Oxford at least, was to be found in the pages of the "*Lyra Apostolica*." I suppose it would be difficult, in the whole range of English nineteenth century literature, to find a book more utterly and hopelessly uncongenial to the feelings and ideas of the great mass of Englishmen, of that great mass which will henceforward rule the rulers. The ideal University which we oppose to that semi-monastic University, of which the men of the 1833 movement dreamed, is a University which shall gather into one focus all the light of the age, which shall lead the scientific movement in every branch of knowledge. We want a University which shall occupy itself in the discovery and dissemination of truth, wholly irrespective of the interests of any sect or party, religious or political. I do not know that I can better express the sort of spirit which we wish to see prevailing in the seats of our highest education, than by reading a few lines from an address lately delivered on the subject of Universities by the German historian, Sybel. If the honorable member who has just sat down had given a tithe of the attention to the German Universities which he has done to the English, he would not, of all accusations in the world, have brought against the German Universities the accusation of being mere echoes and creatures of the State. Sybel says:—

"During the preparatory years of school-life, the principle of authority must necessarily hold paramount sway; and again, in later life, the force of circumstances and authority have a large share in determining our course of action, but there should be at least one moment in the life of every educated man in which all the organs of authority, the nation, the State, and the teacher himself should proclaim to

him as his first and highest commandment, that he be intellectually free. . . . Whether the individual man, as a result of his studies and labours, takes this or that direction,—whether he becomes Liberal or Conservative, reactionary or progressist, orthodox or Liberal,—for us who direct the University system, that which is really essential is this, that whatever the youth becomes, he should become it, not from mere youthful habit, not from dim sentiment or traditional obedience, but that for the rest of his life he should be whatever he is as a result of scientific consideration, critical examination, and independent resolve.”

Is that the sort of language which the honorable member expects from echoes and creatures of the State? Why, he ought to know that *Lehrfreiheit* (the freedom of speech in the professor's chair) is the very life of the German Universities. Now, which of these two spirits—the mediæval spirit of bondage, or the modern spirit of liberty,—do honorable gentlemen think that the people of England will wish to see for the future prevailing in our Universities? If any one answers “the first,” if he really believes that the English people will allow these vast endowments to be directed to the support of semi-monastic Utopias, it is, of course, very right for him to oppose our Bill. But if this is hopeless, surely he must accept our idea of what a University should be, and endeavour to break down these sectarian barriers as quickly as possible. I do not see what alternative there is, for no one can wish to prolong the present wholly illogical and unsatisfactory state of things. No one can wish to see the Universities continuing year after year the battle-field of contending political parties. Honorable gentlemen opposite blame us and our friends at the Universities for stirring up strife, but they do us much injustice. It is not us with whom they are fighting. The whole spirit of the age, the whole of its literature, the whole of its deepest and calmest

political tendencies, the whole of its fierce and feverish life is in the opposing camp. As has been truly said, "the stars in their courses are fighting against them." Depend upon it, he * was one of the most far-seeing, as he assuredly was one of the sternest of nineteenth century Conservatives, who cried—"Power is against us, the masses are against us, the stream of time is against us."

[*House of Commons, July 1st, 1868.*]

THE IRISH CHURCH IN 1868.

The question of the hour is the question of the Irish Church. But do not be afraid, I will not detain you at any great length upon it. We have long understood each other about that matter. It did not need the noble petition which you sent me last spring to tell me what you thought; and my votes, given in favour of Mr. Gladstone's policy, were not necessary to make it clear to you what I thought. In the debate of the 29th June 1863, I had the good fortune to be the only member not an Irishman, or closely connected with Ireland, who took the view of the Irish Church which all Liberals take now. "What," I asked, "is the remedy for the present state of things? Not a half-remedy. The only remedy which meets the case is that which Cato proposed for Carthage." And again, after pointing out that the disendowment of the Irish Church would enable us once for all to get rid of the weary Maynooth and Regium Donum questions, I said, "Let us do this great just act, which will enormously benefit Ireland and enormously benefit ourselves, and we shall do more to bring about the peace and stability of the empire than we could by twenty victories over any foreign foe." I spoke thus, not foreseeing that the tide of public opinion would flow so far or so fast as it has flowed, although I thought that the mind of the country was more prepared

* Stahl.

for a change of policy than many supposed. I spoke as I did because I thought it the plain duty of the movement party to press this question upon its leaders, and I quoted the words of a famous man at a dangerous conjuncture—"We have reason on our side, and, when one has reason on their side, it is right to run some risks." Again, in 1865, when this question had advanced a little farther, but was still very far indeed from taking the position that it does now, I was the first person who rose on our side of the House after Mr. Gladstone's speech, to which reference has been so often made this year, and my first words were—"From the bottom of my heart I congratulate my honorable friend the member for Swansea. If he does not carry his motion—if he does not gain the present, he has, at least, gained the future. This debate will become historical, for, in the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, I see the beginning of the end of the great Irish difficulty." I repeat these things, because opinions avowed at a time, when many who are now loud in their professions were silent or hostile, are worth more than opinions which merely echo the common talk of the marketplace.

[*At Elgin, October 21st, 1868.*]

THE CLERGY OF THE SCOTTISH ESTABLISHMENT IN 1868.

The distinct opinion which I have found everywhere prevailing throughout this part of Scotland, in favour of the disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Church, confirms me in the view that I used a wise discretion in not repeating the well-worn arguments, which prove to demonstration that that institution should no longer cumber the earth. In all this part of the Island only one protest has been made in its favour. That protest was made, you will recollect, by certain clerical gentlemen connected with the Synod of Aberdeen. I read that protest with pleasure, not from a coincidence of sentiment, but from a very different

cause. In the rough October days, it is an agreeable thing for us who, though dwelling far north, are not, unhappily, Hyperboreans—do not, that is, dwell behind the north wind—it is an agreeable thing, I say, for us to be carried to the south—and carried to the south I certainly was by the protest—not to Paris, where the sacerdotal power has not of late been in the ascendant—not to Florence, where the priest has also had in our days a somewhat rude lesson,—but farther still, to the Vatican and the Quirinal and the Church by the Latin Gate. So true it is that, whenever ecclesiastics, stepping out of their natural province—the relations of man to the invisible—arrogate to themselves the right of treating political questions from what they conceive to be a higher point of view than that of us poor laymen, they catch, however unwittingly and unwillingly, something of the tone of him who alone among mortals has addressed to him the proud words: “Receive this tiara adorned with the three crowns, and know that thou art the Emperor of Emperors and the King of Kings.”

But, in all sober sadness, and in all kindness, I would ask the clerical gentlemen to whom I allude, who are separating themselves so widely from the opinions entertained by the great mass of the Scottish people—“Are you pursuing a wise and a politic course? Separating yourselves from the people in politics, by what charm do you mean to retain or to recover your influence? Is it by deep theological learning, by a minute acquaintance with all that modern research has done for the illustration of the Bible? Are you, week by week, popularising the results of all the exegetical knowledge that you acquired in your college days, and to which you are adding by constant and assiduous study? Are you doing, in short, that work of enlightenment for the higher part of man which the newspaper press is now doing so admirably for the mere secular and every-day part of him? If you are

not, gentlemen, doing this, then, in the name of wonder, what are you doing? and what do you propose to answer when the spirit of the times steps up to you, too, and asks you to state the reasons of your existence? Is it not just possible that, before very long, if you can do nothing better for them than fraternise with the Archbishop of Armagh, a worthy man, but the head of a condemned institution, your people may say some fine morning, with no gentle accents,—

‘Is it for this that we have riven the mighty chains of old,
The king-craft, and the priest-craft, the grandeur and the gold?’ ”

[*On the Hustings at Elgin, November 16th, 1868.*]

FRATE, FRATE—LIBERA CHIESA IN LIBERO STATO !

The whole stream of tendency is flowing—here quicker, there slower—in that direction. Religion is everywhere becoming more personal, less political. Man is feeling everywhere more and more that the question of his relations with the Infinite must be settled by his own heart and conscience, not by State machinery; and the expressions of that feeling which will sink deepest into the popular recollection will be rather pithy sentences and dramatic acts than the slow labours of Senates. It is a hard saying, but nevertheless, I fear, true, that the half-dozen words uttered by Cavour on his death-bed to Padre Giacomo—“a free Church in a free State”—the very last, by the way, which he ever spoke—will be remembered widely, when all but a few historical students will have forgotten the vast labours of the men who gave their great powers to preparing the Act for disestablishing and disendowing the most effete of Churches. All those labours, I say, will be almost as little remembered, a hundred years hence, as the sufferings of those patient members of Parliament who, weary night after weary night, and weary morning after weary morning, listened, through the session

of 1869, to the lapping of the shallow waters of Opposition oratory against the crags of the Inevitable.

[*At Elgin, November 15th, 1870.*]

MUST WE THEN BELIEVE CASSANDRA?

PART III.

Intelligence divorced from Religion.

The third portion of Mr. Greg's book is the one which will perhaps be read with most general interest. He says: "I allege that in England the highest intelligence of the nation is not only not in harmony with the nation's creed, but is distinctly at issue with it, does not accept it, largely, indeed, repudiates it in the distinctest manner, or, for peace and prudence's sake, discountenances it by silence, even where it does not demur to it in words, and that, in this disharmony and divorce, lies a grave and undeniable peril for the future. The fact is not new, but its dimensions are; the disharmony is spreading to many classes, and is assuming a more pronounced significance, no candid observer will deny it, and no wise patriot or statesman will regard it as a matter to be ignored." Now, if all Mr. Greg means is that the highest intelligence of the country has of late been moving with extreme rapidity, and that its ideas about the highest matters naturally keeping pace with its ideas about other matters, it is further in advance of the mass of less active minds than has been the case at most periods of history, then I entirely agree with him, and think he has stated his case with great moderation. There is, no doubt, a movement in progress which is destined to grow stronger, and to produce results not only great but permanent. I do not believe that there is a single position which has been won by modern science from the domain of blind authority, which will ever be won back again; while, with regard to many of the raids which the great masters of historical criticism have made into terri-

tory once considered sacred, the verdict of the next century will, I am persuaded, be in the spirit of the words—

“Nor blade of grass again was seen
Where Alaric and his hosts had been.”

It is when we come to speculate upon the ultimate result of the simplifying process which is going on that I part company, not with Mr. Greg, but with Mr. Greg in the particular mood in which he determined to come before the world as Cassandra. I think he immensely underrates the permanent and indestructible element in Christendom. Why, when all has been said that any man of science has yet propounded as a man of science—as anything but a guesser into realms confessedly unknown, how little has been done to shake the foundations upon which the highest forms of religion in Western Europe really rest! You find, for instance, a person or persons endowed with very keen faculties for enjoyment, who attain, after just enough difficulty to make the attainment most pleasurable, the realisation of their utmost wishes. They remain for a time in the possession of what appears to others and to themselves almost perfect happiness; then, however, circumstances change, and they are overwhelmed by calamity. From the prostration which was the first result of this calamity, they gradually rise, till at length they attain, through what they would ascribe as the life of faith, such perfect happiness that their previous happiness seems in comparison as nothing. Now, let any one demonstrate, as might, no doubt, in the case I am thinking of, and in a thousand others, be sufficiently easily demonstrated, that the view of history usually connected with the particular set of religious ideas which this person or these persons held was hopelessly defective—that the astronomy with which that particular set of religious ideas was long and authoritatively connected was eminently absurd—that the cosmogony with which such religious ideas were connected was no better—in

short, that nine-tenths of the opinions usually held by people of that way of thinking were wildly preposterous, and that nothing better could happen to these opinions than that they should vanish on the wind's wings—what, I should like to know, have those who compel their vanishing done to shake the intimate personal conviction of communion with the Unseen, upon which the spiritual life of such persons is really founded? If historical criticism, if physical science, after they have chased away these accessory ideas on the wind's wings, go a step further and say, "Those things which you believe to be so eternally true that they seem truer to you than all else beside, are not true," then historical criticism and physical science, which have hitherto been entirely *dans leur droit*, become just as much unjustifiable invaders as is the doctor of the Church when he presumes to pronounce an opinion *ex cathedra* which historical criticism and science can show, as they have done ten thousand times, to be simply false. It appears to me that there are many ideas which are now enunciated by the foremost teachers of the world which will, when they get hold of the minds of men, be fatal to certain forms in which the religious sentiment presents itself in Western Europe—fatal, for example, in all likelihood, to everything like political organisation in the matters of the soul; but I know no idea which rises above a mere conjecture, which can be fatal to the religious sentiment itself, as seen in the highest forms of Christian life and practice. Many people who are very much alarmed at the change in opinion which is going on around them, and whose alarm is oddly enough reflected on the author of the "Creed of Christendom," might be a good deal comforted if they would only ponder on the large admissions of their opponents. He was not exactly a *persona grata* in orthodox circles who wrote last century on the fly-leaf of his copy of the "Système de la Nature," which is still preserved in St.

Petersburg, the words "S'il n'y avait pas un Dieu, il faudrait l'inventer;" and he is not exactly a *persona grata* in the orthodox circles of this century who penned the memorable sentence, "L'Eglise a été dépassée, et s'est dépassée elle-même. Le Christ n'a pas été dépassé." And in the address which frightened the other day half the clergy of an Irish town, do we not find the following paragraph?—"To yield this religious sentiment reasonable satisfaction is the problem of problems at the present hour. And grotesque in relation to scientific culture as many of the religions of the world have been and are; dangerous, nay destructive, to the dearest privileges of freemen as some of them undoubtedly have been, and would, if they could, be again—it will be wise to recognise them as the forms of a force, mischievous if permitted to intrude on the region of knowledge, over which it holds no command, but capable of being guided by liberal thought to noble issues in the region of emotion, which is its proper sphere. It is vain to oppose this force with a view to its extirpation. What we should oppose, to the death if necessary, is every attempt to found upon this elemental bias of man's nature a system which should exercise despotic sway over his intellect." These admissions and such as these, coming from men whose works are "full-welling fountain-heads of change," should surely go for something—should surely show that whatever is going to happen, however much may have to be given up, a great deal still remains. As long as deep religious feeling seems to be almost inseparable from the highest literary beauty, so long is there, to my mind, a very powerful argument in favour of that feeling not only continuing to be strong, but even growing stronger with the increase of education and refinement. I was looking, some months ago, through a long correspondence, most of which consisted of letters from persons who were quite unknown beyond the circle of their own intimate

friends, but amongst which there were not a few letters from one of the most famous men of his generation. His letters were by no means inferior to his reputation, but they were distinctly not the most remarkable in the collection, either in matter or form. Surprised by this, I said to the person who showed me the correspondence, "But tell me, in the name of wonder, how are these letters, and these, and these, superior to those of this great orator and famous author? The answer which I received came in the shape of a quotation* from, if I remember right, Joubert. Anyhow it ran as follows:—

"Plus l'âme est près de Dieu, plus la pensée est près de l'âme—plus le style est près de la pensée, plus tout cela est beau." Well, I don't know how it strikes others, but it strikes me that as long as that can be said and can't be contradicted, as long as the particular vein of feeling which is peculiar to the highest forms of Christianity is not remotely approached by modes of thought really antagonistic to Christianity, so long nothing essential can be lost. Observe, again, how entirely the mocking Mephistophelian vein has died out in those who are most strongly opposed to existing beliefs—how reverent is the tone of the very men who are prayed for and preached about in the Churches. To find a Capaneus or Heaven-stormer, you must look away from the leaders of the revolutionary movement to followers who do not fully understand their own principles, or the serious nature of the work they are doing. Those sad and stately lines which Strauss wrote the other day on his death-bed would have been called deeply religious if they had come down from heathen antiquity—if, for instance, they had been the production of him—and as far as poetical merit goes they might have been—

"Who dropped his plummet down the broad
Deep Universe, and said—No God?
Finding no bottom; who denied
Divinely the Divine, and died
Chief poet on the Tiber side."

* Adapted rather than quoted.

T

In the warfare of this world it is often wise to hold for a time positions which are not really defensible. We all quote, with approbation, the example of the old Scottish warrior, who, ordered to hold an untenable redoubt on the field of Steenkirk, went to his death with the words "The will of the Lord be done." In the warfare, however, which "the Church militant" has to wage, surely the true strategy would be never to hold for a moment a position about which there can be any serious doubt. To me, at least, it seems that the strength of the place is so great that it can well dispense with the dubious and dangerous aid of so-called outworks. Those who trust to outworks are apt to fall into strange absurdities.

Cassandra, in her gloomy forecast, does not attach sufficient importance to the extreme complexity of the influences which are working in our generation. The currents cross each other in all directions. Theology, for example, is losing, and will continue to lose, its power over many provinces of thought and knowledge in which it once held sway ; but, on the other hand, religion is as decidedly widening the area of its sway in the domain of human conduct. All the higher forms of religion in Western Europe have been becoming more active since the French Revolution. Without dwelling on events which have occurred in Great Britain, just look at the change that has come over the Church of France—so lax before 1789, so irreproachable now in point of morals, whatever may have to be said of its intellectual characteristics. It is usual to talk of Paris as a sort of metropolis of revolt against all the old influences, and I am sure many good Germans in 1870-71 thought they were the ministers of Divine vengeance against a modern Babylon. Well, you know what I thought about the Franco-German war ; but anything more absurd than this sweeping condemnation of the French capital can hardly be imagined. Paris is an epitome of much that is best and worst in modern society. Nowhere does one see in sharper

contrast the conflicting tendencies that are disputing the allegiance of us and our contemporaries. But the great contention which goes on in Paris goes on everywhere, with a thousand local variations. We are in the rush of the midstream, and it would be rash indeed to speculate as to the exact point to which we shall be carried. I read the future, however, quite differently from Cassandra, though perhaps not very differently from Mr. Greg. I believe that the result of the contest of our age between authority and reason will be good for all of us, and that the midstream of change, in which we are, will land us on some far-off shore much nearer together—not divide us into two hostile camps. At no previous period in the history of the world has Christianity, as represented in the Gospels, or in the lives and works of the best of its followers, exercised so powerful an influence on public affairs as in the last thirty years; and I make this assertion without in the least forgetting the endless wars and troubles of that period. In legislation, in administration, in our way of carrying on war, in our treatment of inferior races, in our social relations, in our amusements, in our literature, in everything we are, though, Heaven knows, still far enough from it, nearer nevertheless to the Christian ideals than we ever have been before; and it is interesting to observe that the results of the very highest statesmanship and of the very highest forms of Christianity are often most curiously near each other. The settlement of the Alabama controversy on the part of England was, as has been well said, at once one of the best pieces of statecraft and one of the most Christian acts recorded in history. If Christianity is going to lose its power at once over the highest intelligence of Western Europe and over the masses, just as it seems to be making itself more really felt in public affairs than it ever was in the so-called Ages of Faith, the course of this world is certainly the maddest piece of business. I confess, however, I do not

believe one syllable of any such prophecy. The words once spoken amongst the Syrian hills will never lose their echo. The saying falsely attributed to Julian is profoundly true—"O Galilean! thou hast conquered?" One must not forget, however, that the victory of the Galilean is the defeat of antichrist; and the worst antichrists of our days are the bungling sophists who denounce science and historical criticism, because they do not square with the vile little systems which they, and others like them, have built on those immortal words—who yelp at our modern masters of those who know—our Darwins, Huxleys, and Tyndalls, as if these were not doing in their own way the work of God in the world as much as even those who have in our times most perfectly echoed those Divine words. This I say, believing that in no time have those Divine words been more clearly echoed than they have in our own—no, not by the writers of the great hymns of the Latin Church nor the author of the Imitation. Do not let me be misunderstood. I am not speaking peace when there is no peace. As professor Rothe, of Heidelberg, once said to me—"It may well take two generations to give the religion of Protestant Germany its ultimate form," and Protestant Germany is, after all, only one, although no doubt an enormously important province of Christendom. There is an immense deal of fighting still to do before the time comes for anything approaching to the reconciliation of Christendom. With regard to the attempts at union of the churches, about which we hear, they seem to me, one and all, to be as premature and as unlikely to lead to any worthy results as the labours of the alchymist, and I say this not forgetting that the illustrious name of Döllinger has of late been associated with them. The dissolvent process must, as it seems to me, go far further, and elements not thought of now must be considered before the process of theoretical reconstruction can begin. Looking even to Western Europe, it will surely take

a very long time before even the best of the various forms of Christianity which we see around us become at all disposed to unite. Each seems now, at least, to be thinking more of how much it can retain of its own particular way of conceiving things, than of how much it can afford to throw away. But beyond Western Christendom there is that vast communion which extends, as has been truly said, "from the ice-fields which grind against the walls of the Solovetsky Monastery to the burning jungles of Malabar." And beyond Eastern Christianity are the great religions of the East, a further knowledge of which will most unquestionably modify, and modify considerably, the religious thought of the best minds in Europe. The time for reconstruction is far, far ahead, in a happier age than ours. Our duty, as it seems to me, is while following each of us the best light he has, "driving," as Marcus Aurelius would have said, "at the practice and minding life more than notion," to assist in the destruction of what, after due study and consideration, he is persuaded to be actively mischievous. This is the first thing we have got to do, and the second is to promote in every possible way the knowledge of what is best alike in Christendom, and beyond Christendom, in the spirit of the German maxim—"Traget Holz, und lass Gott kochen."

Cassandra's very low opinion of the great mass of her countrymen vitiates her argument on the religious question as much as it does on political and economic questions. She seems to think that, if the sanctions of religion were withdrawn, the great majority of her poorer neighbours would think of nothing but devouring her. To what she says of the doctrine of a future life, I reply, "I don't believe that the time will ever come when either the highest intelligence or the masses of the people will believe that religion consisted in fables which were told to pacify them; but if I did, I

would re-read the famous passage in Obermann about the Swiss mastiffs, and say to myself—Are, then, men so infinitely inferior to their four-footed fellow-creatures?" Cassandra seems altogether to ignore various forces, of which I will only mention one—*wise law*. I believe it would be very difficult to over-rate the influence of a thoroughly wise law, put into such a form as should be perfectly intelligible to the people. In the great country for which I start to-morrow morning—I mean our Indian Empire—I am assured that the operation of the codes in modifying popular ideas of right and wrong is most marked. We do not observe the same thing here to anything like the same extent, chiefly because, although our laws are, for the most part, good in substance, they are, in point of form and intelligibility, a disgrace to a civilised community. Mr. Greg does attach very considerable importance to the habit of acquiescence in the existing state of things, though Cassandra thinks that that habit has been to some extent weakened. Well, I for one think that it has been rightly weakened, that our social system may in various ways be improved and made better for the less fortunate classes; but the laws that lie at the root of the laws that affirm the sacredness of property, I believe to be just as much part of the order of the universe as the attraction of gravitation; and that if some demagogue could succeed, by waving a wand, in dividing all the property in the country equally upon Monday morning, we should, before Saturday night, be far on our way to the old system of unequal distribution. I hold that every law which is unjust, as between man and man, is fated to disappear; but, with the disappearance of what is really unjust, many things which look unjust at first sight, but are really profoundly righteous, will only be confirmed. Mr. Greg, before he again listens to Cassandra, should take, if I may slightly vary a phrase of Sir Philip

Sidney's, a great passport of history. She is the grand consoler. She is ever saying to those who are panic-stricken at the evils of the present, or the near future—

“O, passi graviora dabit Deus his quoque finem.”

The mistake that political speculators make when they calculate on the disappearance of the religious emotions has not often, so far as I know, been illustrated more forcibly than it was by Dean Merivale, who began the Boyle Lectures, some years ago, by asking who would have believed, when Julius Cæsar made the speech in which he deprecated putting Catiline and his associates to death—because death ended all—that the Roman world would yet see the assembling of the Council of Nice?

[*Address to the Edinburgh Philosophical Institution, October 30th, 1874.*]

POLITICAL ECONOMY.

There surely never was a time in which it was more plainly necessary to popularise this science. We are told by alarmists that one of the results of reform will be that matters which were considered settled will be reopened; that Protection will again raise her head, and that the ghosts of old fallacies will come back to gibber in the House of Commons. I am one of those who think such fears exaggerated; but surely the mere possibility of our people lapsing into heresies such as those which have seduced men of our race, in America and Australia, should warn us to diffuse far and wide the broad results of economic science.

[*Presidential Address on opening the Section of Economic Science and Statistics at the Dundee Meeting of the British Association in 1867.*]

THE STATISTICIAN.

The statistician has scarcely, perhaps, had so many hard words thrown at him as his cousin the economist; but he has all along been coupled with that unpopular character in

public disfavour. Those who know nothing else of Mr. Burke know his sentence about "Sophists, economists, and calculators." I even remember seeing it quoted in a letter from an inn-keeper, who had been remonstrated with on account of an extortionate bill ! [As above.]

THE MISUSE OF STATISTICS.

To attempt to draw from statistical facts inferences which they will not bear—to resolve the whole play of social forces into a mere question of numbers and averages—to pretend that figures govern the world, instead of merely helping us to understand how it is governed,—is simply to injure the cause which we profess to defend. Those who act in this way are almost as mischievous as those whose reckless abuse of statistical methods have given point to the sneer that nothing is so false as figures, except facts,—the Rigbys of political life, who manipulate their figures with a view, not to arrive at truth, but to obtain a controversial success. There is no poorer triumph than such an one as this, for there is none easier, unless indeed it be the triumph attained by fifth-rate theologians when they quote isolated texts against each other, and each remains, in the opinion of his followers, the master of the unhonored and unprofitable field of strife. [As above.]

NATIONAL CO-OPERATION.

The time is surely approaching when we shall all feel that national co-operation, not national competition, should be our watchword ; that commercial, social, and intellectual *interdependence* are as important as political *independence*, and that the loftiest epitaph to which any politician of our day can aspire is contained in the words which were applied by a French Minister of Foreign Affairs to Mr. Cobden—"He was an international man."

[*Election Address, August 29th, 1868.*]

With the repeal of the Corn Laws, England commenced a new phase of her existence; but she has hardly yet realised the full meaning of the doctrines which she then accepted, or understood how far the path on which she then entered would lead her.

The great man who did most to give us free trade in corn went to his rest with his work half done; but those who knew him best tell us that he attached quite as much importance to freeing the land from the shackles, by which its passage from hand to hand is so unnecessarily hampered, as he did to the measure which was the crowning achievement of his life.

[*Election Address, August 29th, 1868.*]

LAND LAW REFORM.

Of course you can't make an estate as easily transferable as a diamond or ingot of gold, but the object of our land legislation should be to approach that ideal as nearly as possible. Not until the ordinary economic forces are allowed to work with regard to land as freely as the nature of things permits will the land do as much for our national well-being as it ought to do. But there we must stop. No attempt, as in France, to impose another set of artificial restrictions which work quite as badly as our artificial restrictions. Free trade applied to land—nothing more, nothing less. Once let us have this, and our unwise land customs, which are even more mischievous than our unreformed land legislation, will gradually pass away.

[*At Elgin, December 20th, 1871.*]

THE LAND QUESTION.

It is certain that before very long the county and burgh franchise will be assimilated. Then we shall have admitted into the electoral body a vast number of persons who know

about nothing and think about nothing but the land. If these men are not to become the prey of visionaries and agitators, surely it is wise to put our land system as soon as may be in a position in which it can be defended by reasonable men. Surely that is at once the best Conservatism and the best Liberalism. Continental Europe has some bad quarters-of-an-hour to pass through before we have heard the last of Socialism. And will any one be bold enough to say that the land laws of the United Kingdom are not a dangerous encouragement to Socialism? I wish those who are not prepared to put our land system on a wise footing, because it is right to do so, would seriously and quietly ask themselves that question.

[*At Banff, September 1879.*]

DISTRIBUTION OF LAND IN IRELAND AND SCOTLAND.

The present distribution of land in this country is perfectly monstrous. I will not go into statistics, which are more fitted to be studied at home than to be listened to at a public meeting; but I will just mention one or two facts, which you all can easily take in and carry away with you. In Ireland, seven hundred and forty-four persons possess about one-half of the country. In Scotland, three hundred and thirty persons possess about two-thirds of the country. Now, I consider, and you consider, that to take a single acre from any one of these persons against his will, without due compensation, granted under an Act of Parliament, would be a simple act of robbery. But, looking back upon history, which has truly been said to be philosophy teaching by examples, I ask every man who hears me whether that is a safe position? I do not ask whether it is a good arrangement for the community; I ask if it is a safe arrangement for the great land-owners themselves? In France and many States of the Continent, the few great land-owners are buttressed,

so to speak, by millions of little land-owners, men whose feelings about landed property are to the full as conservative as their own. Is that the case here? In England and Scotland the great land-owners can at present rely upon the respect for law, and the general attachment of the millions to the existing order of things, but they have not on their side the vast pressure of the great buttress of private interest. In Ireland they have not the security of the same respect for law nor of the same general attachment of the millions to the existing order of things, nor the pressure of the great buttress of private interest. Is it possible then for Irish land-owners to look without alarm upon the agitation of the land question in Ireland; and are our great British land-owners quite sure that, if dangerous and subversive ideas are once taken up generally in Ireland, the infection may not spread? If *they* are, *I* assuredly am not. And my fear that wild and unjust ideas about the land may find more favour than one could wish, even in Great Britain, has been not the least powerful of the influences which have induced me to desire for some time past to see this group of questions taken up by the leaders of the party of which you and I are members.

[*At Banff, September 1879.*]

THE FRENCH LAND SYSTEM.

I dare say when this speech of mine is commented upon, there will be people found to say that I am in favour of the French system—the system of compulsory division. I am nothing of the kind. I am entirely opposed to introducing the French system, or anything remotely resembling it, in this country. I am free to admit that a great deal of nonsense is often talked about the bad effects on France of the French land system. If it were so very bad as is supposed, would it be possible that the vast majority of Frenchmen of all classes should be so passionately attached to it? How

widely this attachment extends you may gather from an anecdote which I will tell you. Sometime ago, I was talking to a Frenchman upon this subject. He belonged not to the classes which had been raised by the Revolution, but to the class which had been ruined, crushed, pulverised, by the Revolution. His great-grandfather had been an emigré; his grandfather had flung away wealth, honors, political position, everything that makes life externally brilliant, for the cause of Charles X. His father had died far away from France, in the service of Henri V. Yet this man, himself like his ancestors a keen Legitimist, spoke to me so strongly in favour of the French system of compulsory division that I said to him, "I do not think there is a single English Radical of note or name who would dare go on a platform and defend for this country the views which you have been defending for France." No one can read such a paper as that of M. de Laveleye in the "Systems of Land Tenure in various countries," published by the Cobden Club, or Mr. Kay's letter on the same subject, without seeing that there is a great deal to be said for peasant proprietors; and no one can read the introduction to Mr. Richardson's most interesting book on the "Corn and Cattle producing Districts of France" without seeing that they have many drawbacks. But whether the system of compulsory division is good for France or not, I am persuaded that it is most unsuitable to this country, and I go back to my formula. Let the natural forces work, let us have free trade in land,—nothing more, nothing less.

[At Banff, September 1879.]

THE WINE DUTIES, 1875.

If, gentlemen, we succeed in keeping the *status quo* of 1875, if, that is, we allow the mighty machine that has been working since 1865 to go on unchecked, I think we shall have

done a great deal. It is a time of political slack-water all over Europe, and nowhere more than in our own country. Still, although this is so, I do not despair of seeing, I will not say, progress made, in the Free Exchange direction, but inquiries set on foot which may lead to future progress in that direction. It was therefore with much pleasure that I heard my friend, Mr. Cartwright, give notice, shortly before the end of the Session, that he would move next year for a committee on the wine duties. It is, you know, alleged by the Portuguese and Spaniards that the way in which we levy our wine duties operates most cruelly to them. They say, "England, with its cold damp climate, is our natural market, and you English are also the people who have got most articles to sell which we want. If you would so alter the mode of levying your wine duties as to enable us to send you more wine, we should be a great deal richer and able to buy a great deal more from you. The moment you alter your wine duties, which operate so hardly against us, we will lower our duties upon a great many of the English things which we want to buy from you, and you will gain two excellent new markets in the Peninsula."

I know that there are some people who would tell us that the proper way to meet those remonstrances would be to say, "You foolish Portuguese and Spaniards, don't you see that, whether our duties are or are not cruel in their operation with respect to you, you are merely making your position worse by laying heavy duties upon our goods which you confessedly want to buy." That is a perfectly good answer as far as it goes, but it is not a *practical* answer. The best of the Portuguese and Spaniards would rejoin, "We know that perfectly well; we know that it would be better for every country to take off all customs duties whatever, but our people have got it into their heads that England, reversing the old policy of the Methuen Treaty, under which she treated France unjustly, by keeping her wines out of the English market in order to favour

those of Portugal, is now treating *us* unjustly by keeping *our* wines out of her market in order to favour those of France. They have got, we say, this idea into their heads, and we Peninsular Free Traders may preach, till we are hoarse, without getting it out of their heads. Besides, even if our Governments were able to take off the duties upon *all* your goods, in the teeth of their Parliaments, however well it might be for *us*, it would not do you any *great amount* of good, because, if you won't take our wine, we have really nothing to buy your goods with."

These representations, gentlemen, appear to me worthy of very serious consideration, but in reply to them the custom house officials have, I well know, a variety of arguments by which they think they can show that we could only accede to the requests of the Peninsular Governments, at the price of great inconvenience to them—the custom house officials, and considerable loss to the revenue. Well, this may be so, but it is highly desirable that both parties should have an opportunity of submitting their views to the judgment of a select committee, and I believe I am right in thinking that the irritation in the Peninsula would be very much diminished if there was a full and fair inquiry before an impartial tribunal.

If Mr. Cartwright is able to show that the Department of the Board of Trade and the great and powerful sub-department of the Customs are at issue on this question, as I think he will, the case for a Parliamentary inquiry will be certainly strong.

[*Presidential Address to the Section of the Social Science Association dealing with Economy and Trade, Brighton, 1875.*]

INTERNATIONAL MARITIME LAW.

On the 11th of March, Mr. Horsfall at length brought on his repeatedly postponed motion on international maritime law. It may be in your recollection that, at the Congress of

Paris in 1856, we gave up the old English doctrine, which we had maintained in so many struggles, and accepted the maxim that "free ships make free goods, with the exception of contraband of war." The obvious result of the acceptance of this principle is, that henceforward, if we are engaged in war with any of the States which were parties to the Congress of Paris, or have since acceded to the declaration which embodied this principle of which I am speaking, such State will be able to carry on its commerce precisely as in peace, provided, that is to say, it employs not its own ships, but those of a neutral power. Now look at the bearing of this upon our own commerce. Suppose that we go to war with France, the result will be that a large quantity of our shipping will be left lying idle in harbour, because no merchant will think of embarking his goods in a vessel which has even a remote chance of being captured, if he can embark them in a vessel which cannot possibly be touched. If the war went on long enough, a great portion of our mercantile fleet would probably change hands, and pass into the possession of neutral owners, Danes, Dutch, or Americans, as the case might be. A large number of our sailors would probably also go into the service of foreign shipmasters, and, not impossibly, when peace was concluded, we might find that various profitable trades had got into new channels, and were lost to Britain. These and other considerations of a similar character have, during the last few years, been exercising great influence upon the minds of many of our largest ship-owners; and it was as their spokesman that Mr. Horsfall, member for the great mercantile city of Liverpool, stood forward in the House of Commons. The debate lasted two nights, and was conducted with great ability, and with a remarkable absence of party spirit. Three opinions were advanced and supported. One or two speakers, including the Conservative leader, maintained that we ought to throw over, or in some way get out

of, the Declaration of Paris. This is obviously and utterly impossible, and does not require to be treated seriously. The Government defended the Declaration of Paris, but declined to commit themselves to any further steps in the same direction; and Lord Palmerston went so far as to say that to abandon our right of capturing an enemy's mercantile marine would be an act of political suicide. Mr. Horsfall's supporters, on the other hand—who rose from all parts of the House, and who numbered in their ranks men of politics so utterly different as Sir Stafford Northcote and Mr. Bright, Mr. Massey and Mr. Baring—maintained that the time had come when the whole state of international maritime law ought to be taken into consideration, and the immunity of the peaceful trader secured against any infraction by the navies of hostile Powers. I listened with much attention to the debate. I have since re-read it very carefully in Hansard, and I am bound to say that my impression remains as it did on the 17th of March. That is to say, I think that the innovators had much the best of the argument. I do not mean that Government should have consented to Mr. Horsfall's motion. Statesmen who know how the sudden changes and combinations of events defy all human foresight may well pause, even although their reason is convinced, before they give their sanction to a doctrine which is fraught with consequences so tremendous. There is truth in what Mr. Disraeli said, despite the sneer which was conveyed by the turn which he gave to the expression. This is verily a greater question than the Reform Bill, or than any which has been recently discussed in Parliament, and it is for this reason that I now lay it before you, stating the bias of my opinion and not my conviction, for it is a subject which cannot be too much ventilated. Lord Russell was one of those who used some years ago the strongest language about the Declaration of Paris. Lord Palmerston freely accepts

the responsibility of that declaration, and justifies it on all occasions. Soon after it, he announced, in a speech at Liverpool, opinions analogous to those expressed by Mr. Horsfall, but he has now recanted, and declares that the very course which he had advocated in November 1856 would be an act of political suicide, thus laying himself open to the bitter taunts of Mr. Disraeli. Ay or no, however, this is not a question which can be decided by authority, and there was nothing in the speech of the Prime Minister to throw any light upon the causes of his change of opinion, with the exception of the point which he suggested about the difficulty of allowing the sailors of an enemy's mercantile marine to pass under the eyes of your hostile squadron to recruit the enemy's navy. And this is open to the obvious retort that, if these sailors are allowed to navigate their vessels as usual, they will not be available for purposes of war. I may notice another suggestion of Lord Palmerston's, about the inconvenience which would result if we were unable to apply the threat of destroying its commerce in disputes with a small and remote, but ill-disposed, community, against which we could not operate in any other way. These and other points enforced by other speakers are worthy of consideration; but on the whole, as I said before, I think the innovators have the best of the discussion.

Several writers before and since the debate have gone farther than any one ventured to go in the House, and have attacked the right of blockade. The most remarkable of these is Mr. Cobden, who, in a letter addressed to the President of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, discusses this amongst other questions. He points out that no other country contains half so many people as our own who are dependent upon foreign lands for the necessaries of life, or for the raw materials on which their labour is exercised; that of nearly all articles of food or produce which require manu-

facture carried over the sea, more than one half is destined for these islands; and he maintains that every interruption of commerce by the exercise of our right of blockade will henceforth inflict greater injury on us than perhaps even on our enemy. But this is not all. This very right of blockade is, he thinks, of little efficacy in very many cases. Our blockade of the Baltic ports, for example, in the Russian war, had the effect not of preventing the Russians sending us their tallow, but merely of diverting the course of the trade. In 1853 we received only £150 worth of tallow from Prussia; but in 1855, when the blockade had lasted long enough to enable the necessary changes in commercial relations to be made, we received from Prussia, acting as the go-between for Russia, the enormous amount of £1,837,300 worth, and other Russian exports reached us in similar ways. Again, Mr. Cobden directs our attention to the fact that we have very frequently been obliged, in the interest of our own manufacturers and merchants, to connive at the violation of our own blockades. So then we find ourselves in this position—We refuse to entertain any proposals for the abolition of the right of blockading commercial ports, and by doing so, we preclude ourselves from protesting against the interruption by the American dispute of one of our most important industries. We do this with a view of keeping in our own hands a power which in many cases we shall not think of using, which in many other cases we could not use if we would—thanks to the great extension of the railway system—and which, finally, if we did use it, would not unfrequently damage ourselves even more than our enemy. I hope, when the subject of maritime law comes again before the House of Commons—and come again it must and will before long—that the debate will include this question of blockade, at which every speaker in the late discussion not unnaturally shied. I again repeat, however, that I feel most strongly the

force of the recommendations which have been plentifully uttered, not to be too hasty in coming to a conclusion upon this great question, which must be kept far away from the sphere of party politics, and not too rashly decided either according to the apparent interest of this or that nation, or to notions of what is right and just in the abstract. To those who care to look farther into the subject, I would recommend a most convenient little manual on the *Law of War and Neutrality*, by Mr. Macqueen, published by those indefatigable friends of popular enlightenment—the Messrs. Chambers of Edinburgh. [At Elgin, September 23rd, 1862.]

DEFECTS IN THE DECLARATION OF PARIS, 1877.

It is impossible to argue this question properly without widening the area of discussion and showing that, although it is absolutely necessary to adhere to the Declaration of Paris, nevertheless the position in which the Declaration of Paris left maritime international law is an extremely unsatisfactory one in regard to three points—first, maritime capture; next, commercial blockade; and lastly, the right of search. The present position as regards England is that we have much the largest mercantile marine afloat. We have a mercantile marine so large that we cannot even attempt to defend it without scattering our Navy all over the world; and, in the opinion of many people, we cannot defend it successfully, however much we scatter our Navy. That being so, and commerce being a timid thing, it is but too likely that if we are ever engaged in war, the cargoes, which we should otherwise carry, will seek protection under neutral flags, while, if the war be long and serious, our ships will pass into the hands of neutrals, our sailors will follow them, and thereby not only will our commerce be injured, but our Navy will be starved by the starvation

of its best training school, our commercial marine. Then as to the right of blockade. The recent immense development of railway enterprise has made commercial blockade a far less effective weapon in the hands of a Maritime Power than it used to be. If honorable members will look round the map of Europe, they will see how few countries we could efficiently blockade. If, for example, we were ever at war with France—which heaven forbid—we could seal up her Navy and, possibly, all her mercantile ports. But how little could we effect by it? Her goods could pass in almost all directions by land through Antwerp and other ports, and the blockade would not have the slightest result on the issue of the war. Then, again, as Mr. Cobden long ago pointed out, the enormous majority of articles of commerce that pass over the sea, are destined for these shores, to feed and otherwise contribute to the well-being of our people, or to be worked up by their labour and sent out to all parts of the earth. How many blockades could we enforce without doing ourselves more harm than good? The third point in which the state of maritime law is unsatisfactory is the right of search for contraband of war. It is the interest of all commercial nations, and most of the greatest commercial nations, to have contraband of war very strictly defined and as much limited as possible, while it is equally our interest to have the right of search for contraband of war as much limited as may be. Mr. Cobden proposed that contraband of war should be restricted, as the United States desired, to arms and ammunition, and that as an article was only rendered contraband of war by its hostile destination, the right of search on the high seas should be abolished, and the only admissible evidence of hostile destination should be the presence of the ships carrying contraband of war in the waters of a belligerent State. All these points of maritime law, I trust, will be fully discussed to-night, as the first of the

three was in 1862, and I hope honorable members will state all that is to be said for and against innovation as forcibly as was done in the extremely interesting debate upon Mr. Horsfall's motion about maritime capture. I then thought, and still think, the innovators had far the best of the argument. It was said if we gave up the right of maritime capture and the right of blockade of merely commercial ports and limited the right of search, our Navy would be of no use. Is that so? Can we call a Navy of no use that prevents a single armed vessel of an enemy coming out of port without being sent to the bottom; that makes England one vast unassailable fortress; that makes Malta and Gibraltar, and every one of our points of vantage throughout the world, perfectly secure; that makes the invasion of any one of our Colonies except the Dominion of Canada nearly impossible; that enables us to send in perfect security all our disposable troops to succour an ally; that enables us, if the necessity ever arises, to make our communications with India perfectly secure, by sending troops from England to Alexandria, and from Bombay or Kurrachee to Suez? Honorable gentlemen who ask more from their Navy than this are rather hard to please, and our present naval officers would very much prefer that class of duties to a class of duties which, as performed in the last war, had many features in common with piracy. Next we are assured that by confining our Navy to warlike purposes, we shall weaken ourselves as against the great European Monarchies. Suppose we go to war with a great military Monarchy, what, if our commerce is safe from all attack, can the great military Monarchy do? Try to invade us? The Navy, no longer detached to chase fishing boats and other small deer, would give a very good account of the new Armada; on the other hand, the Navy would enable us if we had men enough of our own or our allies to invade any one else. It is said that it is more humane to take the property of your enemy at sea than to

shoot at his body there. You are perfectly justified in both, provided doing either tends to end the war quickly and satisfactorily to you. The infliction of misery during war is inevitable; what is objected to is the infliction of misery in waste. The capture of enemy's property at sea has never had so powerful an effect in bringing wars to a conclusion as is sometimes attributed to it, and in future it will have less. To waste time in cutting up commerce would only waste the strength of the stronger and increase the bill that would have to be paid by the weaker party. Our own commerce is the only commerce which it could be worth while to cut up if there were no Declaration of Paris. The position of other nations is sufficiently awkward to make them close with any proposal on our part to carry the reform of 1856 further; and America, the Power most concerned, would readily do so. The special reasons for bringing the matter forward now are three—first, that the risks involved in the present state of things are continually increasing with the extension of our commerce, which is immensely greater now than it was even in 1862; secondly, that the whole bearing of the Declaration of Paris, whose consideration has been forced upon us by the honorable member for West Cumberland, cannot be properly understood without discussing the question of the state of maritime law as a whole; and, thirdly, that we are now in a quite exceptionally favorable position for discussing the question, because that large portion of it which relates to maritime capture was considered at great length in this place just fifteen years ago. One of the most interesting speeches to which I ever listened within these walls was a speech which was made by the right honorable gentleman now the leader of this House. I agreed with the views of the right honorable gentleman then, and I agree entirely with them still, and what I want to elicit now is whether the right honorable gentleman has found in the last fifteen years any answer to his own arguments, or, if not,

whether he is prepared to abide by the wise and statesman-like conclusions at which he then arrived. After setting out all the difficulties of our position with great clearness, the right honorable gentleman said :

“ Now, I want to know what Her Majesty’s Government intend to do ? Are they of opinion that we can safely rest where we are ? ”

That is exactly what I want to ask the right honorable gentleman to-night. He then went on to say :

“ But what are we to do now ? Are we to go forward, backward, or in what direction ? Is the noble lord prepared to leave the matter to the chapter of accidents, or to say that when war comes is the time when the whole question is to be determined ? ”

That, again, is precisely what I desire to learn now. I will quote this other passage in the right honorable gentleman’s speech :

“ Now, let us take a lesson from history. What occurred in the Seven Years’ War ? In that war England distinguished herself most gloriously, and her Navy was particularly successful. Smollett, writing of the war of 1760, related how this country had 120 ships of the line, exclusive of fire and other ships, and that, notwithstanding this immense armament, and that the enemy had not a ship of the line at sea, yet the enemy were so on the alert with their small ships that they took 2,549 of our merchant ships, as against our capture of 944 of their vessels, including 442 privateers.”

Has the right honorable gentleman in 1877 any reply to his illustration of 1862 ? Of course, the situation of 1877 is not the situation of 100 years ago. All war ships are now steamships, and we have got hold of such an immense amount of coast-line and of so many commanding points on this terraqueous globe that there are many countries which

would find it a difficult matter to prey upon the commerce of Great Britain in almost any sea. This, however, would certainly not be the case with all Powers and in all seas. Is the right honorable gentleman, then, perfectly satisfied with the present state of things, or is he still, as I confess I still am, in the uncomfortable frame of mind which was so well reflected in his very interesting speech of March 17, 1862? The right honorable gentleman asked his honorable friend to withdraw the motion and not press it to a division. Now, what the right honorable gentleman advised Mr. Horsfall to do is precisely what I would do if the forms of the House enable me to move my amendment. The subject calls for the careful attention of Her Majesty's Government. I know there are those who will use the *tu quoque* argument and ask whether my friends, when they were in power, attended to this question. I do not think, however, that is the right honorable gentleman's idea of the proper way to carry on business. The last thing I wish is to embarrass the Government with reference to so serious a question. I wish to leave the matter entirely in the hands of the responsible Ministers of the Crown, in the hope that if, as is extremely likely before the Eastern imbroglio is settled, there may have to be another European congress, an opportunity may be taken, after full and deliberate consideration, to carry further the reforms which were inaugurated by the Declaration of Paris in 1856. There are not a few things in which the rule "*alors comme alors*" is the best, but it is so easy a rule to follow that it is apt to be a dangerous one, and Governments harassed and worried by the constant necessity of arranging what is to be done during the passing week are too apt to adopt what I may call the idyllic treatment of great questions, assuring inquirers that everything is going on delightfully until they are at last brought face to face

with a tremendous exigency. I will conclude with a passage from Mr. Cobden's letter to Mr. Ashworth, to which I have already alluded :

"It is at the option of the English Government at any time to enter upon negotiations with the other Great Powers for the revision of the Maritime Code, and I speak advisedly in expressing my belief that it depends on us alone whether the above reforms are to be carried into effect. I will only add that I regard these changes as the necessary corollary of the repeal of the Navigation Laws, the abolition of the Corn Laws, and the abandonment of our colonial monopoly. We have thrown away the sceptre of force to confide in the principle of freedom, uncovenanted, unconditional freedom. Under this new *régime* our national fortunes have prospered beyond all precedent. During the last fourteen years the increase in our commerce has exceeded its entire growth during the previous 1,000 years of reliance on force, cunning, and monopoly. This should encourage us to go forward in the full faith that every fresh impediment removed from the path of commerce, whether by sea or land, and whether in peace or war, will augment our prosperity while at the same time it will promote the general interests of humanity."

[*House of Commons*, 1877.]

MARITIME LAW, 1878.

But, turning from what I may call the defensive to the offensive argument, the opponents of the honorable Baronet* may say that, whatever may be the difficulties of defending our commerce, we are so tremendously strong at sea, and so comparatively weak on land, that it would be madness to cripple our right arm by giving up the power of capturing the merchant vessels of the enemy. And those who urge that we should give up that right have almost been called

* Sir John Lubbock.

unpatriotic for so doing. If that is so, *cadit quaestio*. We are certainly not the proper people to urge the change.

If I thought that the result of giving up this right of maritime capture would be to cripple the strength of England, I should not be here this night to advocate such a course ; but the case which is pressed by the honorable Member for Maidstone is that, far from weakening us, the suggested change will greatly strengthen England by enabling her to apply her strength with far greater effect than she has ever done before.

The tendency of modern warfare is to strike at the heart of an enemy—to produce great results by great efforts. A power which resorts to the trifling kind of warfare which used to be so common, taking this or that little dependency which is often not worth the trouble of keeping when it has got it, will in future wars be the beaten Power, and, at the end of the contest, will have to pay a very heavy bill to the victor for its small successes.

If the honorable Member for Maidstone has his way, our Navy in future wars will be kept for purposes which can really have a great effect on the final issue for making England and all our points of vantage throughout the world hopelessly unassailable, and for enabling us to strike out wherever our enemy is most vulnerable.

If a navy does that, it does a great deal. Suppose, for instance, we ever have to fight in Egypt. Whether shall we be stronger if our Navy be engaged in keeping up the communications of our troops there with England and India—the two great reservoirs of our Military strength—or in petty and *quasi*-piratical captures up and down the seas, or in the hardly more glorious duty of acting sheep-dog to our own commerce ? This question does not appear to me to admit of a moment's discussion.

Then we are reminded that sailors will not like to lose their

prize-money. Now, prize-money is not a very dignified inducement at the best, and in future wars may well act against, rather than for the interest of a great Maritime Power. Wars are now decided, as I have already said, by operations on a great scale, while the tendency of prize-money is to tempt dashing seamen away from the great vessels which figure in great enterprizes to smaller vessels which wage a petty warfare productive of little but "misery in waste."

Then it is said that it would be monstrous if the mercantile ships of an enemy might come into Portsmouth without chance of capture when we are at war.

That, however, raises an altogether different question, and has nothing to do with my honorable friend's motion.

Of course, the mercantile ships of the enemy would not come into Portsmouth unless to bring something that Portsmouth wanted, and would not be allowed to do so unless the existing prohibitions against trading with an enemy had been for some good reason relaxed.

Then we are told that the hotter the war, the sooner the peace, and that, if we allow the merchant of an enemy to send his goods about as if there were no war, wars will be lengthened intolerably; but the same argument will hold good against every mitigation of ferocity which distinguishes modern from ancient war.

We should now think it very shocking if, when the Germans entered Champagne, they had made it their business to cut down every vine in the country. To a Greek it would have appeared the most natural thing in the world. It is now thought to be wrong to murder prisoners, and we made very just reflections on the doings of the unspeakable Turk in that behalf; yet a man, whom an eminent dignitary of the English Church, who is better known, I think, in this House than any other dignitary of the Church—

I mean the Dean of Ely—called the greatest name in history,—spoke in the coolest manner of murdering prisoners. *Et omnes necavit* he said somewhere, as if he were speaking of the most indifferent action.

Then the argument which is sometimes used on my side—not, I think, a very strong one—that, namely, we should cease to destroy or seize private property at sea because we abstain, to a great extent, from interfering with it on land, is met by the bold assertion that we do interfere with it as much on land as on sea; but that certainly is not so.

The practice of recent wars is an immense improvement upon that of the wars even at the beginning of this century. Of course requisitions are made and must be made. No one would object to their being made at sea in similar circumstances, but the tendency is always more and more to protect private property on land. I myself know a house in France on the scale of a great English country-house, filled with pictures and books and treasures of all sorts, which lay right in the storm track of the German invasion in 1870. Well, thousands and thousands of Germans passed through it and were accommodated there, but the amount of property carried off was quite infinitesimal. If that great château had been a ship, it would have been liable to be carried off by the victor bodily with all its contents.

But some people say—"Well, we do not care so much about the right of maritime capture, but we do care a good deal about the right of commercial blockade."

My honorable and learned friend the Member for Oxford has referred to that subject. Now, here, too, I am perfectly open to conviction, and I should like my honorable and learned friend to point out any one country with which we are ever likely to be at war which we could successfully blockade. The whole position of affairs has been altered by railways, and it is now next to impossible to enforce

commercial blockades ; and, if we did enforce them, we should do as much harm to ourselves as to our foe.

I used to think that the strongest point in favour of the old law was made (if I recollect aright, by Lord Palmerston) when he pointed out that blockade was a convenient method of bringing to good behaviour small communities, which might give trouble as some of the South American states had done in time past.

I have now, however, come to the conclusion that more direct methods would be better for all concerned.

I need hardly remark that nothing I have to say against commercial blockades has anything whatever to do with blockade as a naval operation directed against fortified places or the armed ships of an enemy, or as forming in any way part of an operation of war properly so called. I speak merely of blockades intended to distress the commerce of an enemy, which blockades I believe would usually be in our case a weapon of which the handle would cut as badly as the point.

The honorable and learned Member for Oxford has argued that it would be absurd to abolish contraband of war, but the honorable Member for Maidstone has never dreamt of doing that. All that the honorable member wishes is that a country situated like England should do its utmost to minimize the list of articles which should be considered contraband of war.

There are two schools of thought—one which wishes to minimize, and the other to maximize, contraband of war ; and I think it is the interest of England to minimize the number of articles and the places in which the right of search can be exercised. As to the fear of merchant steamers carrying one or two long guns being sent out for an attack on Australia, I am considerably mistaken if our Australian Colonies would not give an extremely good account of any vessels going on such an expedition.

Then it is said that ship-owners, if protected, will desire

war to get war freights. I think better of them, but even if they do, even if all the ship-owners in the country should wish the country to go to war, their influence would be very small, for we shall not have another war unless the vast majority of the people wish for it.

It is said that it is idle to enter into any such pact as the honorable Member for Maidstone proposes, because a state of war puts an end to all treaties between the belligerents; but that certainly would not be the case with regard to a treaty which expressly contemplated the attitude which is to be taken up by nations to each other during a war. Once abolish the right of capturing merchant vessels at sea, and no Prize Court in a civilized country would have Judges so infamous as to maintain the legality of a capture made in defiance of engagements which they would hold sacred.

No Power can say with confidence that if Great Britain was at war, *it* would assuredly be neutral. Of all nations in Europe we are the one most likely to pass the greatest number of years out of the next half century in a state of neutrality, and no wise Power could wish the continuance of practices which might at any time turn out grievously inconvenient to itself on the chance of picking up some of the fragments of British Commerce which would be broken up by war.

But we need not speculate when we can appeal to facts. America, the Power most likely to fight us at sea, and most likely to gain by being neutral while we were fighting, would be, I understand, quite willing to close with the proposal now made—at least as to maritime capture.

I urge these points at this particular time because it is hoped and believed that there is soon to be a great European Meeting.

We shall go into that European Meeting under very peculiar circumstances. I do not think that the most self-

satisfied Briton thinks we shall go into that Meeting under very glorious or satisfactory auspices. I do not say to which of the two great parties that divide politics in this country the greatest blame for that state of things attaches, but it must in fairness be to a considerable extent shared by both.

Everything in our eastern policy which, up to 1875, was blessed by all the greatest of our statesmen, has been cursed by events, and everything that had been cursed by all the greatest statesmen of this country up to 1875 has been blessed by events.

That cannot be an agreeable position for the Government, but they have the opportunity of recovering a great deal of reputation and writing a glorious page in history.

I should like them to accept the views which the honorable Member for Maidstone and others have advanced, and if not officially, at least officiously, to discuss them with the other Powers of Europe at Berlin.

If they were to do that, it is more than probable that results would ensue which would be a great deal more important than even the relaxation of our maritime laws, for which I am most anxious. I believe it is quite within the power of diplomacy and goodwill at this moment to initiate a proposal for the partial and considerable decrease of great armaments. In the whole range of Statesmanship there is no object to which it could be more desirable to devote attention, and if the Government takes up these views in a fair spirit, it will be in their power to initiate one of the greatest reforms which can be effected by the nations of Europe.

[*House of Commons, March 22nd, 1878.*]

BOANERGES LIBERALISM.

To talk of re-actions in the politics of this island is, I would fain hope, an anachronism. Our progress towards the complete adoption of all the views of thoughtful and

philosophic, as distinguished from mere Boanerges-liberalism, is, I trust, unceasing. If we appear to be retrograding, I think, at worst, we are only advancing in a spiral instead of a straight line. True Liberalism may, I venture to believe, take for itself that proud Spanish motto—"Time and I, gentlemen, against any two."

[*At Elgin, October 1st, 1860.*]

THE LIBERAL PARTY.

Wealth, wisely used, infers enlightenment, and what does the Liberal party exist for, unless it be to incorporate with our institutions and our life the results of enlightenment? The men of thought, the Lockes, the Adam Smiths, the Benthames, the Austins, the John Stuart Mills, think out great questions. Practical politicians of the Liberal School follow in their wake. It is their art to obtain as speedily as possible from the country that momentum which is necessary to overcome the resistance of prejudice, of interest or of apathy; and amongst the many advantages which accrue from such a meeting as ours to-day, I know none greater than that it enables one whose duty it is to occupy himself almost exclusively with the thought, "In what directions can progress most readily be made?" to learn for what purposes he can get the greatest amount of support.

For it is only when a large body of public opinion, extending through many different strata of society, moves together, that reforms in this country can be obtained at all. This makes our progress slow but sure, for those premature changes are avoided which lead to reaction—premature changes like those which made one of the most remarkable rulers of modern times say that his own epitaph would be—"Here lies Joseph II, who failed in everything that he undertook."

[*At Elgin, October 27th, 1864.*]

LIBERAL PHILOSOPHERS AND LIBERAL POLITICIANS.

The work of the political philosopher and of the practical politician is very different, and, while the latter may be deservedly blamed for not making himself acquainted with all that the most advanced political thinkers have to teach, he deserves not only toleration but approbation if he says—
 “I will do all that I can in the circumstances in which I find myself; I will attempt to carry out in legislation the conclusions which are generally accepted by Liberal political philosophers, and where I see a good opportunity of advancing Liberal measures by speech or action in Parliament, even although there is no immediate chance of carrying them, I will not fail to do so, but I will not prejudice a good cause by attempting impossibilities.”

[*At Peterhead, July 1865.*]

TWO KINDS OF LIBERALS.

There are, as somebody said, two kinds of Liberals—Liberals before the fact and Liberals after the fact. The former are the true Liberals, the latter are Tories in disguise. There are few Conservatives now who do not admit that all the great changes from 1832 to 1860 were perfectly right; but who cares for their approval now? What did they do when their approval would have been of some consequence? They opposed every one of those measures. How do they stand affected to all those Liberal measures which are before the country, but are not yet law? How did they treat in the last Parliament the commercial treaty with France, the Clergy Relief Bill, Mr. Bouverie's Bill for opening fellowships, Mr. Baines's Bill for lowering the Borough Franchise, Mr. Hadfield's Qualification for Offices Bill, Sir John Trelawny's Bill for the Abolition of Church Rates, or the Oxford Tests Abolition Bill?

[*As above.*]

THE INNS OF COURT.

Of what use, however, are commissions, if ministers, who have long since obtained the object of their ambition, and only want a quiet life, leave their reports unopened on the shelf? This appears to have been the fate of the commission which in 1854 inquired into the Inns of Court, those great and wealthy corporations which guard the access to the most influential of English professions. I brought that subject before the House last session, acting in concert with some of the most respected members of those bodies, and I mean to return to it next year, in the hope, not only to carry out the views of the Royal Commission of 1854 and of a Select Committee which preceded it, but still more with the hope of indirectly contributing to the codification of our law, by raising up a race of lawyers who may be inclined to make and able to work a code.

[*At Elgin, October 27th, 1864.*]

CODIFICATION, 1864.

I cannot understand why more zeal in this cause has not been shown by recent Liberal Administrations. Every one knows that the present Lord Chancellor is really a law reformer, and that he is doing something in the direction to which I allude. Witness his speech of June last year. But, in order to break down the opposition of interest and of prejudice, there is need for energy like that which was shown under the auspices of Justinian in old, and of the French Convention, or of Napoleon, in modern times. That energy the present Lord Chancellor has it in him to show, but the apathy of his colleagues, and of the public mind, leave him without proper support. When we look at the Macaulay Code and the labours of the Indian Law Commission, it

would really seem that our eastern dominions are in this most important matter to take precedence of the mother country.

[*As above.*]

IRELAND IN 1865.

There is still much in the condition of the sister island which is very sad and very disheartening—Protestant violence, and Catholic violence, both deeply to be deplored—vain dreams and crazy disaffection, with much physical suffering. These evils are, in a great measure, the result of the unwisdom of the English Government at a time when Scotchmen had no part in the Government of Ireland; but although the chances of history saved us, to a great extent, from inflicting the wrong, they have given us the opportunity of undoing it, and Scotch members have not been in the past, and will not be in the future, slow in trying to raise that unhappy portion of the empire to the level of the active and prosperous portion of it which they inhabit.

[*At Peterhead, July 1865.*]

IRELAND IN 1867.

I advocate a cheaper system of land-transfer, encouragement to leases, and an equitable compensation for tenants' improvements. Nor, if these mild measures failed to settle the land-question and pacify the country, should I shrink from more sweeping changes. Don't fancy Fenianism is killed. It is hardly even scotched. The danger is pressing. Have an Irish session as soon as you can—as Mr. Bright long ago proposed. Concede to the uttermost every just demand, but keep the peace of the country, and crush any overt attempt at resistance with ruthless severity.

[*At Elgin, 1867.*]

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IRELAND IN THE WINTER OF 1867.

You have all probably seen an account in the newspapers of a letter by an American Fenian in one of the magazines. That letter is filled with absurdities ; but suppose it to be true, suppose that the Irish people had determined at any price to break off the connection with England and Scotland, what should we say ? We should say—" You shall have the best government that we can give you ; we shall not leave you the ghost of a grievance, but we must beg you to understand that separation is not to be thought of,"—and, if it were attempted, we should put it down in every corner of the island, not, I hope, with more severity than was necessary, but put it down we should at any cost.

[*At Peterhead, December 19th, 1867.*]

HOME RULE, JANUARY 1874.

If there is one thing about which Great Britain has made up its mind distinctly, it is this, that Ireland cannot be allowed to do anything which may tend to weaken the United Kingdom. Liberals, I take it, throughout the country are well content that Ireland should be governed according to Irish ideas ; and Liberal statesmen will be supported in yielding to any demand that will not distinctly tend to do harm to Ireland herself, or to weaken the collective force of these islands ; but there, I think, public opinion will draw the line, and forbid any coquetting with "divisive courses" which may lead to the ruin of the weaker, and the weakening of the stronger partner in the existing union. Do everything, I think public opinion in England and Scotland will say, which justice, and the most unprejudiced large-hearted consideration of Irish wants may require, but, when you have reached that point, stop, and take to the last argument of kings. There is no difficulty whatever in governing Ireland—the

only difficulty is in governing Ireland well. The moment it becomes a question of the bayonet, all is easy enough. "Not a state of siege," said the greatest statesman of our times, as his life was ebbing fast away, "not a state of siege—any body can govern with a state of siege." The mistake of our ancestors was that they took to the last argument of kings before they had tried mercy or justice either, while the liberal party will never have recourse to force till they have exhausted all other means.

[At Elgin, January 1874.]

IRELAND, 1880.

The moment there has, at any period of our history, been anything like an attempt to rise in insurrection in Ireland, force has always met, and always will, I hope, meet force, and order has been easily restored; but you cannot imprison a feeling, whether you do or do not suspend the *Habeas Corpus*. If you are merely fighting a conspiracy, like the Fenian conspiracy, suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* may stand you in very good stead. You pounce on the leaders, and the organization is disorganized, but here you have a further element of difficulty. The Government has done its simple duty in prosecuting the persons who have used inflammatory and dangerous language at the land meetings; but if all these persons could be sent to prison to-morrow, and the *Habeas Corpus* were suspended into the bargain, the great rent strike would, I fear, go on, and would have to be met by other and less easy remedies. Of course, if the Tory party does half the agitator's work, by thwarting the reforms proposed by the Liberals, it may have to come to the bullet and the bayonet in the end. The calmest and wisest man in the country knows that, just as well as the madmen who are shrieking for what, if it means anything at all, and is not to be understood as a mere incoherent expression of rage, means a treatment of the

disturbed districts of Ireland like that which was meted out to the West of Scotland by the Highland Host or to the French Protestants by Louis XIV. The object of all good and patriotic men during the next few months should be to try whether we cannot prevent it coming to the bullet and the bayonet. It is so natural to think that a little blood-letting would put all to rights—to see a Promised Land beyond the Red Sea ; but unhappily forty years' wandering in the wilderness is much oftener the result of crossing the Red Sea than an arrival even after that long period in the Promised Land. [At Peterhead, December 1880.]

LORD PALMERSTON AND MR. COBDEN.

Towards the end of the session there were several sharp passages of arms between Lord Palmerston and Mr. Cobden, and on the 1st of August, in a very thin house, they engaged in a regular single combat. There they stood unreconciled and irreconcilable, the representatives of two widely different epochs, and of two widely different types of English life. The one trained in the elegant but superficial culture which was usual amongst the young men of his position in life at the beginning of this century, full of pluck, full of intelligence, but disinclined, alike by the character of his mind and by the habits of official life, from indulging in political speculation, or pursuing long trains of thought ; yet yielding to no man in application, in the quickness of his judgment, in knowledge of a statesman's business, and in the power of enlisting the support of what has been so truly called "that floating mass which in all countries and in all times has always decided all questions. The other derived from nature finer powers of mind, but many years passed away before he could employ his great abilities in a field sufficiently wide for them, and he has never had the official training which is perhaps absolutely necessary to turn even the ablest

politician into a statesman. There he stood, an admirable representative of the best section of the class to which he belongs, full of large and philanthropic hopes, and full of confidence in his power to realize them, yet wanting in pliability of mind, and deficient in that early and systematic culture which prevents a man becoming the slave of one idea.*

[*At Elgin, September 23rd, 1862.*]

LORD PALMERSTON.

It had long been foreseen that Lord Palmerston's sceptre was passing to other hands, and in October 1865 he died without giving his ring to Perdiccas, for Perdiccas,† if common report speaks the truth, had gone before his chief. It is too early, even now, to pass a quite dispassionate judgment upon Lord Palmerston; but I suspect that his fame will rest in the future almost altogether on what he did during the middle portion of his life, when he was Foreign Minister, not upon anything that he did or left undone when he was Prime Minister. His best title to the good-will of posterity will be the hatred which he inspired amongst all the worst men in all the worst Courts of Europe—a hatred which was summed up in the rhyme current about him during the reaction that followed 1848 in the most benighted portion of Austria:—

If the devil has a son,
Sure it is Lord Palmerston.

He lived long enough to see the fall of almost every one on the Continent of Europe whom, during his best days, he had most opposed, for during his best days he read very

* These words do not express my more matured opinion about Mr. Cobden; but I learned to appreciate that remarkable man more justly than I did in 1862 at a somewhat later period—thanks chiefly to the conversation and writings of his most distinguished disciple—Sir Louis Mallet.

[*April 1871.*]

† Lord Herbert of Lea.

shrewdly those riddles of the times of which I spoke a few moments ago. It might almost be said of him, as Lamartine said of Voltaire, "He had the time to combat against time, and when he fell, he was the conqueror."

[*Elgin, December 10th, 1872.*]

MR. J. S. MILL'S CANDIDATURE FOR WESTMINSTER.

All these varying and contrasted merits the electors of Westminster can well compare for themselves without asking the opinion of outsiders. I shall confine myself, therefore, to one point, on which I may claim to have some knowledge, and that is the advantage likely to accrue to the Liberal party from having Mr. Mill in the House of Commons.

I am not sanguine enough to believe that, if Mr. Mill sat through the whole of the next Parliament, we should find, when the general election came round, that any useful laws would have been passed, which otherwise would not have been passed, or many mistakes avoided which, without his help, would have been made. Legislation, however, is far from being the only duty of the Legislature. The House of Commons especially has another great function to fulfil. It is the chief agency by which public opinion is educated till it, in its turn, becomes strong enough to command Parliament to legislate. There is, I think, no one who has done more than Mr. Mill to extend sound ideas amongst that not very numerous class, which has sufficient leisure to read large works upon Government and upon the principles which determine the happiness or misery of States. There is a tolerably large group of men in the House of Commons at this moment who, if they were obliged to call themselves the disciples of any particular master, would perhaps rather call themselves the disciples of Mr. Mill than of any other living teacher. As it is in the House of Commons, so it is

in most societies where men assemble who have time for abstract studies. So it is at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, more especially, I am happy to say, in the former—where there is now a singularly active and devoted, although still not very large, Liberal party. So it is in the Press. So it is wherever, throughout all wide England, men of thought and high culture are gathered together. The ideas, however, of Mr. Mill, which are so well fitted to promote the happiness of the greatest possible number that I cannot quote from him a more characteristic maxim than this—"Govern as if you had universal suffrage until the day come when the people are ripe for universal suffrage," have not yet extended so widely, or got so thoroughly into the blood of the country, as I could wish to see them. If, however, Mr. Mill is returned to Parliament, and can speak in the House of Commons those thoughts which he has hitherto written, he will at once be able to act upon masses of his fellow-countrymen, who at present do not even know his name. For one man who studies Mr. Mill's books, a hundred will read his speeches, and remember that each of the speeches of so eminent a person, even if he only speaks eight or ten times in a session, will be in itself a political event, discussed in every newspaper and commented on in every company from which such topics are not altogether excluded. Soon you will hear opinions which are at present held only by a minority, coming back from all quarters of the country, as the opinions of majorities in this or that locality; and two or three Parliaments hence, you will have measures passed which even those of us who most ardently desire them think of only as pleasant dreams.

But let me come to particulars. Supposing some one were to ask, what good measures do you think would be materially advanced by Mr. Mill's return to Parliament? I will state a few by way of a sample. First, then, we have

the question of the extension of the suffrage. Who could have answered the speech of Mr. Lowe which so skilfully marshalled all the objections which philosophical, but timid, politicians could take to that measure with more authority than the author of the treatise on Representative Government? The question of the extension of the suffrage is the most *imminent* of our great internal questions. The next which I shall name is the most *dangerous* of our great internal questions. I mean the question of the Irish Establishment. I do not remember having read anything of Mr. Mill's upon that subject, but I know his opinions on it, and I cannot imagine any one better qualified to lead the attack on the terrible abuse which has done so much to diminish our hold on Ireland, and with it the general prosperity of the empire. Then take the whole subject of our foreign policy. To that Mr. Mill has given very great attention, and there is nothing on which the House of Commons stands more in need of an authoritative guide—of a man who will boldly take his stand upon a principle, and who has at the same time a competent knowledge of the actual state of Europe, understanding what is possible and what impossible. Then there is India, the affairs of which have occupied, I suppose, more of Mr. Mill's time than all his great works put together. For remember that these works, important as they are, have been, till recently, only the products of his leisure, and not of his working hours. Who is better fitted to guide public opinion on all that relates to our gigantic interests in the East than the son of the historian of British India, who, after having passed more than thirty years in the India-house, has now for seven years been looking at our Indian policy from the point of view of an independent spectator. Take another subject—the abuses and blunders of our charitable endowments. No man who listened to Mr. Gladstone's noble speech on the taxation of

charities in the session of 1863 could doubt that he at least is prepared for sweeping reforms in this dark corner of our social organisation. No one, however, who was witness to the indignant uprising of honest prejudice which seconded the efforts of frightened interests in opposing Mr. Gladstone's views can doubt that, before any very great and salutary change can be made in this matter, public opinion must go through a long process of enlightenment. Who, then, could help on that enlightenment more quickly than the author of the lucid and admirable paper, written thirty-two years ago, which stands at the head of Mr. Mill's two volumes of *Discussions and Dissertations*—that, viz., "On the right and wrong of State Interference with Corporation and Church property."

I might go on to speak of the important help which Mr. Mill could not fail to give to public school reform, which bears so directly on the preparation for the duties of law-making of the classes who have sufficient leisure to make law-making their profession. I might show how his views about women, premature as they may be in some respects with reference to our present state of civilisation, would make him a useful advocate of the extension to women of some of the benefits of those great educational foundations from which they have been hitherto so little the gainers. I might tell how he has been the enlightened advocate of codification in India, and how greatly his speeches would be likely to advance the same good cause in England. I might remind you (if I did not know that some who will follow me will speak to this) how much attention he has given to the relations of capital and labor, to the working of the principle of co-operation, to every subject which falls within the most extended definition of the term "Political Economy."

The few instances I have cited are, however, enough to illustrate my meaning, and now I have only to add that,

whether *Mr. Mill succeeds or fails, the fact of his having been brought forward will at least be of this advantage to the Liberal party, that it will attract increased attention to his works.*

[In Westminster, June 1865.]

MR. J. S. MILL IN PARLIAMENT.

Some of you may recollect that I spoke last year on the hustings of Mr. Mill's election as an event of no ordinary importance. I do not think my predictions have been falsified; but my deep admiration for Mr. Mill cannot prevent my saying, nay rather encourages me to say, that I think the speeches which he delivered towards the middle of the session, beginning with that admirable one on the Franchise Bill, were so good as to make it infinitely desirable that he should confine himself to speaking great essays on great subjects. For the ordinary carte and tierce of the house he has no particular gifts. Hercules himself, club, lion's skin, and all, would have stood little chance with the fencing-masters Grisier or Bertrand. *[At Elgin, October 9th, 1866.]*

GREAT BRITAIN IN THE EARLY SUMMER OF 1866.

Happy the country which, at so solemn a moment, is able to watch with interest the encounters of champions whose respective war-cries are a *seven* and an *eight* pound franchise! Over half the fairest cities in Europe the thunder-clouds seem closing as we write, and for some time to come we must be content to find our best comfort in the old German distich—

Herrscht der Teufel hent' auf Erden,
Morgen wird Gott Meister werden.

[Preface to Studies in European Politics, June 9th, 1866.]

1866 AND 1867.

The year 1867 has been very unlike its immediate predecessor. The latter will be had in everlasting remembrance

as one of the turning-points of human history. When all its other stirring events have faded from the popular recollection, its memory will still be kept green by that one tremendous day on which, strangely disguised indeed, and with war-cries not their own, the forces of progress and obstruction met to try one conclusion more, under the walls of a petty Bohemian fortress. Königsgrätz has set its mark, for all time, on 1866.

1867 has been busy and crowded. It has had its fair share of important and striking events, but unless something very unexpected occurs in the few days that remain to it, it will stand to its forerunner in the same relations as the year 1067 did to the year which saw the Norman Conquest.

[*At Peterhead, December 19th, 1867.*]

THE ADULLAMITES, 1866.

The tenants of the Cave, of whom so much has been said, may be divided into three sections—first, those who hated any real reform altogether; second, those who, from reasons connected with their own seats, and the like, did not want the Government bill; and, third, those who, with no strong political bias one way or another, were dragged in and became a prey to the genuine hyenas of the Cave. Of the first I need say nothing. Their motives are intelligible enough. They were our enemies in the last, and they will be our enemies in future struggles, but their number is not very great. Of the second and third I have still hopes, in spite of explanations which explain little, such as those which came from the other side of the Firth,* and with regard to which one might be inclined to say—

“These are the after-thoughts that reason feigns
To justify excess, and pay the debts
Incurred by passion’s prodigality.”

* The reference was to a speech just made to his constituents by the then Member for the Wick Burghs.

With regard to this Adullamite secession, there is another thing to which sufficient attention has not been paid. People have treated it too much as if it had been purely a matter of politics, and not, to some extent, also a matter of fashion. In a neighbouring country the *salons* were for many a day a great political force. We have no *salons* in London, the more's the pity ; but it is not to be supposed that, even under our gray skies and in the city of Exigency, as some one well named the work-a-day metropolis of England, social influences are not to be taken account of. Well, the social influences were not propitious to Reform. The "party of the Roses and the Nightingales" was very decidedly against us. And if the "party of the Roses and the Nightingales" was adverse, what had we to expect from our "golden youth?" I am quite sure that, if you except the small knot of men whom I call the genuine hyenas of the Cave, there are very few of those who voted against the late Government on the two decisive occasions of last session who are really and on conviction opposed to any further concessions to the spirit of democracy. All that is wanted for those gentlemen whom I put in the second and third classes, and consider as the prey of the genuine hyenas, is to see that the country and their constituents are thoroughly in earnest ; that what is desired is a distinct step, not a very long step, but a distinct step towards a more democratic form of government ; not a tinkering up of the existing state of things with a few well-neutralised democratic elements, but a change which, while it weakens the party of resistance, shall make England on the whole a better place for the artisan, by giving him the increased self-respect which comes from a sense of exercising a reasonable amount of political power, as well as being able to bring the peculiar ideas of his class before the attention of Parliament more directly than has hitherto been possible. I am glad to observe that both Lord Russell and Mr. Gladstone seem anxious to

make a golden bridge for such of the seceders as are rather victims than enemies. [At Elgin, October 9th, 1866.]

THE REFORM BILL OF 1866.

EARL RUSSELL.

It should not be forgotten that 1866 was the first year of a Parliament, surely the most unpropitious moment for the passing of a measure which, in its effects in the body that passes it, reminds one of the famous simile of the historian who, after describing Alva's entry into Brussels, says—"The city, after it had received the Spanish general within its gates, was like a man who has taken poison, and who awaits in shuddering expectancy the manifestation of its deadly working." The only objection to this scheme* which is likely to be brought forward is that some people might have raised the cry that the Government was trifling with the question. I believe the number of persons who would have done so would have been quite insignificant. To have done so would have been to accuse both Lord Russell and Mr. Gladstone not only of supreme stupidity, but of the most impudent hypocrisy, and few, I fancy, were prepared to do that. When the Government had taken its resolution, something might have been effected to prevent mischief by a fair exchange of views between the heads of the party and their followers; but Lord Russell has never, with all his experience, learnt that a party is not a machine, but a body of men. The lines in which Lord Lytton described him twenty years ago are still true. These lines are familiar enough; not so are five of Lord Russell's own, written when he was sowing his intellectual wild oats in tragedies and romances, and diaries of the *Wandering Jew*—

"My business, not my bosom, they shall know;
Hence be my heart, like ocean, common road
For all, but only for the dead abode;
Man shall not sound the deep o'er which he steers,
And none shall count its treasures or its tears."

* The postponement of the Reform Bill till 1867.

These lines, which are supposed to have been written by the hero of the novel * which he gave to the world in 1824, before the sun began to shine on his side of the political hedge, may be highly proper sentiments for a young gentleman who has just seen his lady-love expire at his feet, but perhaps they are not altogether so suitable for the leader of a party.

[*At Elgin, October 9th, 1866.*]

LORD ARTHUR RUSSELL.

A very silent member, who is, nevertheless, one of the most judicious and high-minded politicians, as well as one of the most accomplished men, who sits in our or any other Parliament. [*On the Hustings at Elgin, November 16th, 1868.*]

MR. DISRAELI IN 1867.

The first of the points on which I wish to touch is the success of Mr. Disraeli. Now, this success is leading two different sets of people to be very unjust in dissimilar ways. One of these, fixing its eyes exclusively on the moral aspect of the governmental doings of last session, thinks it cannot speak in terms sufficiently severe of the leader of the House, while another, looking only at the power of Parliamentary management which he displayed, cannot sufficiently laud his statesmanship. The key to Mr. Disraeli's conduct is this—he is an Englishman because he *will*, not because he *must*. His outer life is identified with ours, but his inner life belongs to another race and another history. All English politics are to him only a game. Lord Derby, Mr. Bright, and the rest of them are to the real Disraeli mere pieces on the chess-board—knights or bishops, castles or pawns. His object is to win. When he first came before the public he had not yet succeeded in keeping his outer and his inner life separate, and hence the real man was constantly coming out

* The Nun of Arrouca.

to the amusement of all around, not so much because what he said or did was absurd in itself, as it must be admitted it sometimes was, but because it was out of harmony with time and place. Towards a man who considers all our political conflicts as a kind of grave jest, who believes that all our bills, whether "passed or stopped, leave England much the same," and who spoke on the 13th May, by a happy slip of the tongue, of Her Majesty's Government as "Her Majesty's Company," it is quite impossible to feel the moral aversion that one does feel towards certain persons who believe that they have leapt in the dark, and done on mere party grounds a dangerous if not a fatal thing * * *. The party of resistance cannot have a better leader than Mr. Disraeli. It is not a very dignified spectacle; but, after all, is there anything particularly dignified in the two other species of leader which the party is apt to have—the one typified by the family which learns nothing and forgets nothing—which sees the whole world change around it without giving up one iota of its political creed—the other so well known to our own history—a man holding false position after false position always in good faith, always retreating just when it is too late to do so with credit—always obstructive, while obstruction can do mischief?

"Till old age and experience, hand in hand,
Lead him to death, and make him understand,
When he has toiled so idly and so long,
That all his life he has been in the wrong."

"*Entre fripon et fripon*," as the French say—As between one equivocal character and another, I, gentlemen, am on the side of the defender of the angels.

But those who sing pæans in honour of the statesmanship displayed in recent transactions, seem to me as far wrong as those who perorate about Mr. Disraeli's immorality. Tact is good, and management is good, but they do not make a

statesman. No man seems to me in these days, and in this country, to deserve the name of a statesman, who is not in all respects abreast of the best thought of his time, and who does not steadily and with requisite ability work on to make the actualities of national life correspond with his ideal standard. Politics are, alas ! not a game, though they sometimes look very like one ; and he who treats them as a game may indeed be brilliant and successful, but he writes his name in water. If that is to be the fate of Mr. Disraeli, as I think it will be, there is all the more reason why in this hour of his success—a success of which we, his enemies, will reap the fruit—we should try, so far as we can, to sympathise with the honours which are about to be paid to him in the Scottish capital. We should try to remember his long years of struggle—the astonishing want of penetration of Sir Robert Peel *—a want of penetration which the terrible night of the 15th June 1846 hardly punished too severely—for a nation does not make a man Prime Minister with license to blunder. We should try to remember his extraordinary Parliamentary power, his versatility, and the numerous small but real brilliants which are to be found amidst the paste diamonds and glass sapphires of his writings. Above all we should remember that, in so far as he has any political beliefs at all, they are much more nearly ours than those of the gentlemen who are peculiarly anxious to do him honour. For, O ye powers of delusion ! what do those good souls imagine that he either has conserved, or cares one half farthing for conserving ?

I was speaking a little while ago of the humorous side of the great Parliamentary chess tournament of 1867. One sees the humour of it as long as one looks at the pieces on the

* I did not know, when I made the speech from which this extract is taken, that it was not the want of penetration of Sir Robert Peel, but the hostility of the late Lord Derby, which excluded Mr. Disraeli from the Administration of 1841.

board and the countenance of Mr. Disraeli. One sees its tragic side when one catches a glimpse of the countenance of Mr. Gladstone. The Mephistophelic nonchalance of the one, and the melancholy earnestness of the other, would have made a fine study for an artist. I wish my good old friend, Moritz Retsch, could come back to his pleasant home among the Saxon vineyards, and give us a sketch of the two. It would form a good *pendant* to one of the most famous of his works.

[*At Elgin, 1867.*]

THE BEACONSFIELD POLICY IN 1878.

Gentlemen, it is all very well. Fireworks are pretty things, even bad fireworks like those which the Government has given us; but, please, remember they must be paid for. Every-single farthing that has been spent and will be spent is just so much deduction from the comfort of your lives and the provision you can make for your children. Lord Beaconsfield puts into the mouth of one of his favourite characters the following words: "What should I be without my debts?" he would sometimes exclaim; "dear companions of my life that never desert me! All my knowledge of human nature is owing to them! it is in managing my affairs that I have sounded the depths of the human heart, recognised all the combinations of human character, developed my own powers, and mastered the resources of others. What expedient in negotiation is unknown to me? What degree of endurance have I not calculated? What play of countenance have I not observed? Yes, among my creditors, I have disciplined that diplomatic ability that shall some day confound and control Cabinets." It is, gentlemen, to that sort of thing that we are now given up—to the happy-go-lucky finance and diplomacy of Bohemia! How long will a nation that respects itself allow its affairs to be managed by such hands in such a spirit?

[*At Peterhead, September 6th, 1878.*]

LORD BEACONSFIELD IN 1880.

And that leads me to my second point, that the chief who was their informing and governing mind did not possess the kind of ability which is wanted for a British Prime Minister in these days of ours. A British Prime Minister now, in order to be really able, must conform to one of three types. He must be a man of transcendent social position and exceptionally cool judgment, in perfect harmony with the views of his party—like Lord Hartington—or he must be a man like Mr. Gladstone, who, possessed of great directive and enormous propulsive power, is, so to speak, captain and engines in one, or he must be a man who lays no claim to propulsive power, but who has a clear head, the most intimate knowledge of the vessel and all that relates to it, a good acquaintance with the sea she has to traverse, and the most ardent desire that she should make a successful voyage—such a man as the one statesman of the first rank whom Lord Beaconsfield's Cabinet ever held, and whom, thank God, it holds no longer! The present Prime Minister, however, conforms to none of these three types. Lord Beaconsfield is a first-rate party leader, a great master of the arts by which words are made to do the duty of things, a most skilful detector of, and preyer upon, the weaknesses of human nature, but he is a statesman only in the conventional sense in which any man who holds high Ministerial office *in a State* is called by courtesy a *statesman*. No man really deserves that high title who does not constantly, and with adequate power, attempt to make the realities of things correspond with what he believes they ought to be. Now that, Lord Beaconsfield has never done. The man has been the successful player of a game for nearly all his life. But politics are not a game; they are very grim earnest, and a man who treats them as a game, however successful he may be in attaining his personal objects, is but too likely to land his country in a very bad scrape. And the

scrape is all the more likely to be a bad one, if in old age he remembers some dreams of his youth which he has steadily kept apart from his working-day life till the sun is westering. Dreams of that kind have given us Anglo-Turkish Conventions and Protectorates of Asia Minor, and projects for seizing a point upon the Syrian Coast, and managing Afghanistan "by Persia and the Arabs." Of the two I confess I much prefer the Mr. Disraeli one used to watch in the House of Commons, treating all our domestic politics as a kind of grave jest, and whom I heard describe, by a happy slip of the tongue on the 13th May 1867, Her Majesty's Government as "Her Majesty's Company," but, gentlemen, in neither phase can I recognise the present Prime Minister as the proper man to lead a great and serious people—a people which knows how to appreciate the infinite cleverness and amusing dexterity which Mr. Disraeli has shown and which Lord Beaconsfield shares, but has for many months wearied of the entertainment, and is now longing for the general election, in order that it may be able to say louder than it spoke even in 1868, "Put the puppets in the box, for the play is played out."

[*At Aberdeen, January 30th, 1880.*]

DEMOCRACY, 1867.

I have said that I think the immediate results of Reform have all along been over-estimated by both parties; but I have no shadow of a doubt that, as an ultimate result, partly of this great electoral change, still more of the change going on in many minds, every institution, which has only antiquity and custom to plead for it, will go by the board. Sooner or later, the interests of the majority will sweep away every vestige of mere historical, as distinguished from philosophical right. To those who doubt it, however powerful or highly placed, I can only say what John Huss said of the old

woman, "O holy simplicity!" Let no one be deceived. We have taken a distinct step towards democracy. £6 or £7 or household suffrage bills point to the same goal; and there is not much to choose between them, although, perhaps, the first mentioned was on the whole the best. Democracy lies before us on a not very distant horizon. Our duty during the next thirty years will be to prepare for it.

There are many who, pre-occupied too exclusively with some of the coarser features of American life, look on that undiscovered country towards which they are slowly but surely moving, with feelings of horror and dismay. "We see," they say, "a great spreading Moorland, with a low, dark horizon. No shadow moves across its surface. No light glimmers on it. It is the plain before the valley of the shadow of death." I cannot share these apprehensions. It seems to me far from improbable that the democratic England of the twentieth century will be, on the whole, a much better place both for the rich and the poor to live in than the England of to-day. Certain I am that the wisest course for all is to accept the inevitable, and to take care that all our political and social arrangements shall be revised during the next thirty years.

[*At Elgin, 1867.*]

DEMOCRACY, 1880.

"The Gods have appointed it so; no Pitt nor body of Pitts, or mortal creatures, can appoint it otherwise. Democracy, sure enough, is here: the tramp of its million feet is on all streets and thoroughfares, the sound of its bewildered thousandfold voice is heard in all meetings and speakings, in all thinkings and modes and activities of men."

These words of Mr. Carlyle's, published about a generation ago, were recognised as true by many at that time, and now find few gainsayers. There are still, as all may

see, powerful monarchical and powerful aristocratic influences in our society, which may continue to work for long ages, but to a very great extent the United Kingdom has become a crowned democracy.

To some political philosophers this forms a subject of rejoicing, to others of regret. The politician, as such, neither regrets nor rejoices at it. His business is to use the facts and forces around him, as best he can, to promote the happiness, first of the community of which he finds himself a member, and secondly of the world.

[*Foreign Policy, Macmillan, 1880.*]

RESTATE THE REASONS OF YOUR EXISTENCE.

During the next generation, I am fully persuaded that all our institutions will be asked, so to speak, to restate the reasons of their existence, and be judged according to their capacity for furthering the common weal. So averse are our countrymen to all change not manifestly necessary that such of those institutions as have historical right upon their side, will not find it difficult to conform to the exigencies of the new time; but woe unto those which are determinedly obstructive! Woe unto those whose friends are rash enough to say, "Let them be as they are, or let them not be at all!"

Such obstinate institutions will soon hear the ominous words "Too late!"—words now sounding in the ears of that Irish Establishment which so fondly imagined that its dangers were at an end with the failure of the Appropriation Clause.

[*Election Address, August 29th, 1868.*]

THE SLOWNESS OF THINGS.

When the question of the Irish Church has been put in the way of settlement, I trust that we may see many other reforms set about. As to what the chief of them should be,

I have expressed my views pretty fully in the course of my canvass, but I know only too well that, when the Parliament that is now being elected has come to an end, the amount of work done will be far less than we at present fondly anticipate. "Slowly, very slowly," as the poet said, "goes the history of the world;" and only too much to be remembered by all Reformers is the Spanish proverb, "However early one gets up in the morning, the dawn comes never the sooner."

[*On the Hustings at Elgin, November 16th, 1868.*]

LEVELLING UP.

Levelling up first came into our political literature through a pamphlet of Mr. Aubrey de Vere's; but the expression was borrowed by that gifted Irishman from a native of the United States, with whom he was talking about democracy in America. "You in Europe," said this gentleman, "misunderstand the spirit of our American institutions. You think that we want to level down; but what we want to do is to level up." When we have levelled up in that sense, and not till then, we shall see the true fruits of democracy in its best acceptation—the rule, that is, of an intelligent and educated people by itself. We shall then go on from strength to strength, subduing one natural force after another to man's uses, till, as has been admirably said, "the inequalities which prevail in human life, so far as they are the result of artificial and not of natural causes, will diminish and disappear more and more, till even the lowest classes in the social scale will be raised to a level of well-being hitherto unknown and unimagined."

[*At Elgin, October 21st, 1868.*]

THE PILOT AND THE MINISTER.

The business of a politician in a popular Government is to use as best as he may the existing gales and currents of public

thought, to carry him in the direction in which he would go. As Bolingbroke said long ago, "The ocean which environs us is an emblem of our Government, and the pilot and the minister are in similar circumstances. It seldom happens that either of them can steer a direct course, and they both arrive at their port by means which frequently seem to carry them from it."

People are often unjustly called doctrinaires, because they have distinct ideas about politics, and have systems of policy in their heads, to which from time to time they give expression; but those are only justly called doctrinaires who insist on acting in season and out of season upon the doctrines which they profess.

[*At Elgin, December 20th, 1871.*]

WHY WE WANT PEACE.

This country has a large and rapidly-growing population. A very considerable fraction of that population—say, speaking roughly, perhaps a million and a half—has at its command more of the raw material of happiness than any equally large fraction of any other nation ever had; but the immense majority of our people has really not *very* much more command of the raw material of happiness—observe I put an accent on the *very*—than they had a hundred years ago; and although the fraction I have alluded to has this exceptional command of the raw material of happiness, it is raw material, and the happiness is too often enjoyed in a stupid, unintelligent, semi-human sort of way. Now, we wish to alter this state of things; we wish the majority of the nation to have the command of the raw material of happiness, and we wish the fraction which has that already, to enjoy its happiness after a higher fashion.

[*Introduction to Elgin Speeches, April 1871.*]

ENGLAND AS A MILITARY NATION.

What existing community can point, I do not say to equal success in arms, but to success even faintly comparable with ours? And observe that this success has not been won, like that of most other warlike communities, in or near our own dwelling-place, but under every imaginable combination of difficulty, alike in the Old Continent and in the New. Is there any evidence that there has been the slightest falling off in the aptitude of this country for military success? We have had no small amount of difficult work forced upon us in the last twenty years. Have we anywhere shown ourselves inferior to our forefathers? And if not, why should so many people be tormented with a desire to rush into quarrels which are none of ours, as if we, like some of our neighbours, were the *parvenus* of glory, not yet quite certain of our position in the world? [As above.]

OUR MILITARY POLICY.

We must have an adequate army, and by all means let us take advantage of the present hot fit, as is, indeed, being excellently done, to make a middling army into a first-rate one. A bad army is nothing but a school of demoralisation. A middling army is a school of very little good. A first-rate army, whether you ever want it for war or not, may be made a school for producing, no doubt at enormous expense, but still for producing, a vast number of persons extremely available for the general purposes of the nation. But when we have once made our army as good in quality as it can be—the best army of its size in the world—I trust we shall take care that its numbers in time of peace are as small as is consistent with the only purposes for which we want an army—the garrisoning of certain fortresses like Malta and Gibraltar—the maintenance of our rule in India—the support of the civil power

in Ireland always, and now and then for an hour or two at home—the very improbable contingency of having to send a small force abroad, and the more improbable contingency of having to repel some attack on our shores, if the once glorious, and, as I still believe, incomparable navy of England turns out to be worthless.

[*At Elgin, December 20th, 1871.*]

ENGLAND AS A MILITARY POWER.

At the commencement of every war into which we are dragged—and I am not sanguine enough to hope, however much I may wish, that we shall not be dragged into wars—all the world will be astounded at the turn for war displayed by the inhabitants of this Island, who, law-abiding and quiet as they are on the surface, are yet, under the surface, the fiercest and most determined population in Europe. It is strange that foreign statesmen and soldiers, in these days of rapid communication, cannot understand that; and will have to be disillusionized at the commencement of every struggle, as Canrobert was at the commencement of the Crimean campaign. That distinguished officer was standing at Gallipoli, along with the gentleman who told me this story, as first the French, and then the British, marched by. Another French General said, as the British passed, “Good heavens! what fine troops these are?” “Yes” said Canrobert thoughtfully, “*Now I begin to understand the Peninsular War.*”

[*At Elgin, December 10th, 1872.*]

A MIDDLE PARTY.

Something has been said of late about a middle party; but what does a middle party mean in English politics? They are not wide enough for a middle party, and those who speak

of one can have very little idea of the amount of divergence which exists between the extremes of political party, in countries where a middle party can really be a power. We have in England, no doubt, sons of St. Louis and sons of Voltaire—to use the phrase made famous in France by a great orator—but neither the sons of St. Louis nor the sons of Voltaire are in this country a political party.

The distinction between the Liberals and Conservatives here is this—The latter are inclined to keep up every institution which has got a bare historical right to exist; while the former are constantly trying to bring our institutions, without any abrupt breach with the past, into harmony with right reason and the exigencies of a rapidly changing society. That is a very deep and fundamental distinction, but it is not one which admits of any middle party. The truth is, we have not amongst men of position or ability sufficient to have any weight with the people of this country, those heaven-storming theorists who are so well known in some other lands, any more than we have people who would say, “Oh yes! the charter was given of course, but it never crossed our minds that the King wasn’t to do what he liked in spite of it.”

I lately read a very good passage bearing on this subject in an article in the *Fortnightly Review* which I will quote to you :

“Is there a party in this island, amidst a hubbub of free speech, which in this day advances a programme remotely akin to political revolution? Revolution is a ready phrase on the tongues and the pens of Conservative rhetoricians. But when squeezed into common sense, it means only that which Conservatives do not like or reluctance to accept the Conservative Elysium. In its plain sense, revolution is an idea as alien to the political aspirations of our people as the word is alien to their language. Go where you will, amongst workmen in town or country, in trades’ unions, in clubs and

'mass meetings,' and their talk is about bills and petitions, and the sections of an Act, commissions of inquiry, and deputations to ministers. They are saturated with the Parliamentary dye, and an indignation meeting of costermongers will be sticklers for all the formulæ in Hansard, and will call 'order' and 'stand by the chair.'"

The idea of a middle party becomes not less, but more strange when we look at it from the inside of the House of Commons. I suppose Mr. Whitbread is the kind of man of whom people think, when they talk of a union being formed between a portion of the Conservatives and a section of the Liberal party, to prevent us going too fast down the steep of Democracy. Mr. Whitbread would be admitted, I presume, by all who know him, to be one of the wisest men in English political life—inferior to no one who could be mentioned, in that just balance of mind, that aptness to be right, which is the highest attribute of a statesman. He would be a great gain to any party, but the bare idea of his breaking away from the associations of his life, and becoming a member of a middle party, is to me very amusing; and what is true of Mr. Whitbread is equally true of all the important persons on our side who would naturally occur to the mind of people who dream about a middle party. There have been times in English history when middle parties had room at least to exist. Such a time was that which immediately preceded the breaking out of the great Civil War; but the difficulties of a middle party were well grasped by him who, referring to that period, wrote the lines:

"Nor less alone nor less a dreamer there,
Wan Falkland looks through space with gloomy stare,
Pondering that question, which no wise man's voice
Ever solved yet to guide the brave man's choice."

But middle parties are only too apt unfortunately to have the fate of Falkland and to die as he did, vainly murmuring "Peace, peace."
[*At Elgin, January 1874.*]

"EXPEDIT—LABOREMUS."

A wise man, at one of the turning points of the world's history, summed up his view of the situation in the sad words—

"NIL EXPEDIT—LABOREMUS."

"It is all in vain—still let us labour on."

We live in a happier time, and may amend the saying.

[*At Elgin, December 10th, 1872.*]

PROGRESS.

I agree, as I generally find myself doing, with much that Lord Derby said in his Rectorial address, but there was a remark in it to which I think some exception must be taken. He spoke with disapproval of "sanguine men, who predicted a future of unlimited progress, because progress has been the rule in Europe for the last 500 years." Now, surely there are no men so foolish as to base such a conclusion on such premises.

The people who believe in a future of what may be fairly called unlimited progress, base their hopes upon a view of human history as a whole. They would be the last to deny that there have been endless ups and downs in human progress, that this or that kind of excellence has seemed now and again to die out of the world altogether. They think, however, that the vast diffusion of knowledge in our days has created so many different centres of light and intelligence that we are now no longer at the mercy of such catastrophes as that which overwhelm the civilization of Greece, which was dispersed only over a few spots, in a very limited area, and confined even in these spots to small communities ruling over slaves, and they think, further, that even so frightful a calamity as the almost total disappearance from the world, of the art of Greece sinks into insignificance if one looks at human history as it can now be traced in our collections from the days when the highest efforts of art were the

scratchings on the bones of animals slaughtered for their food, which were made by the cave-dwellers in various parts of Europe.

They are sure that it is demonstrable that progress has hitherto been the law of the community, and they think, although he was perfectly right who said that humanity advanced not in a direct, but in a spiral line, the tendency of the events of the last few centuries has been to make it advance ever more and more in a direct, ever less and less in a spiral one.

They think this, and they think further, that a statesman who does not accept this philosophy loses one of the greatest supports he can have in working for the good of his country and mankind, and is far more likely than another who takes a more hopeful view, to lose heart in difficult times, and to fall into that sceptical mood which has been too often the mood of the ablest Tories:—"There is nothing new and there is nothing true, and it don't signify."

You, gentlemen, and Liberals generally, think that there is a good deal new, and a great deal of it true, and that working out what is true in practice signifies a great deal.

[*At Elgin, February 5th, 1876.*]

THE REAL DEPOSITARIES OF POWER IN ENGLAND.

All these things affect only the opinions of persons who care about politics, while the course of this nation is really determined in all great matters by those who do not care about politics. Only when the huge inert mass which goes about its daily avocations, caring for none of these things, is really reached, are Governments changed, or decisive things of any kind done, in this steady-going country. It is, I suppose, because they are thoroughly convinced of that—thoroughly convinced that here thought is as far as possible

from issuing, as has been said of it in other lands, armed *cap-a-pie* like Minerva from the brain of Jupiter, that some very sensible persons are well content to be denounced as doctrinaires, dreamers, disciples of Geist, and what not. They know very well that the enthusiasm of the horses which drag the chariot of the State will bear a great amount of encouragement, and so they give that encouragement with the utmost confidence that by so doing, they are not at all likely to upset the vehicle, but only to urge the team into respectable trot. It may be true enough, as a German philosopher said five-and-forty years ago, and as many have repeated since, that the world is improved, not by *revolution*, but by *evolution*, yet the exertions of people who want to move even too fast are a necessary part of that evolution, and if there were not such people we should have been still in the Stone Age. What do I say—we should have been in the rudest part of the Stone Age, for even the better kind of flint arrow-heads which we see in our Museums of antiquities would have appeared a startling innovation to the primeval savages who first chipped flints at all.

[*At Elgin, February 5th, 1876.*]

ENDOWMENT OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH.

There was another matter as to which I was glad to see that Lord Derby spoke strongly—the importance, namely, of doing more than we are doing to encourage original scientific research. This seems to me desirable, not only for the honor of the nation, but even for its material advantage. A very large portion of our wealth and prosperity is, as we all know, dependent on our manufacturing industry. Our manufacturing industry is the daughter of invention, and invention is the daughter of discovery, herself the daughter of original scientific research. “Many persons,” says Mr. George Gore

in a paper which I should like to see read by all members of Parliament, "look upon scientific research either as a hobby, or as a refined intellectual pursuit, and do not view it as an important or essential element of national greatness and progress. Persons in general in this country also consider such research as unpractical, but this is simply in consequence of their ignorance of the subject. Scientific discoverers may be considered the most practical men in existence, because their labours give rise to greater and more numerous practical results than those of any other persons. A man who cultivates plants for the purpose of obtaining the seed is quite as practical a person as he who converts that seed into vegetables fit for human consumption."

Are we, then, doing as much as is reasonable in the way of original scientific research? I fear not. Mr. Harcourt, the President of the Chemical Section of the British Association, pointed out last year at Bristol that original researches in his department were now much more often made in Germany than in England, and a similar assertion is made with respect to other branches of science. It may be said that it is no matter by whom the discoveries are made, provided our people follow up those discoveries by invention and the application of invention to the purposes of life; but that is not true. Invention will always flourish best near the house of her parent Discovery, and if we go on allowing another nation to outstrip us in research, we shall soon find ourselves outstripped in money-making, and the power that comes of it.

"Already," says Mr. Gore, "our manufacturers and others in all directions are asking for improvements on their machines and processes; employers of steam engines want to obtain more power from the coals; makers of washing-soda wish to recover their lost sulphur; copper-smelters want to utilize the "copper smoke;" glass-makers wish to prevent bad

colour in their glass ; iron puddlers want to economize heat ; gas companies are desirous of diminishing the leakage of gas ; iron smelters wish to avoid the evil effects of impurities in the iron ; manufacturers in general want to utilize their waste products, and prevent their polluting the streams and atmosphere ; and so on without end. And inventors are continually trying to supply these demands by exercising their skill in every possible way with the aid of the scientific information contained in books ; but after putting manufacturers and themselves to great expense they very frequently fail, not through want of skill, but through want of new knowledge attainable only by means of pure research. Judging from the vast amount of inventive skill already expended upon the steam engine, and from the coals consumed in it, it is highly probable that a machine for completely converting heat into mechanical force cannot be invented until more scientific knowledge is discovered."

We often hear that our coal is being rapidly exhausted. Well, I dare venture to say that, in the brains of the children born in this island in the last ten years, you have a power capable of creating more wealth than would pay for all the coal they will see burned in their lifetime, if you will only set about developing it in the right way. And the way to develop it is twofold—first, to give every child with a turn for science a fair opportunity of getting a scientific training. At least, don't bribe such children away from science by devoting a disproportionate share of your endowments to reward success in other studies ; second, make it possible for those men to live comfortably by scientific research who come into the world with the kind of brain which is fitted for successful scientific research. Don't calculate upon all discoverers being like Faraday, who, when urged to give himself to those applications of science which bring in money, said, as Mr. Gore tells us—"I can't afford to become rich." Remember that

there come into the world every year perhaps 100 brains which can apply science usefully when once it has been gained from the eternal silence, for one brain that can push science on by discovery—that can gain it from the eternal silence.

Here, then, as Lord Derby says, is another most useful field for endowment, and in this field far smaller sums will produce more valuable results than those which are wanted to put our education on a proper footing.

[*At Elgin, February 5th, 1876.*]

SOME POINTS OF CONTRAST BETWEEN 1847 AND 1876.

Two or three vessels of our present navy would sink all the vessels of our navy as it was in 1847, while a few thousands of our present army, far more numerous, be it observed, than that of thirty years ago, would hold their own against whole legions of their, according to our present notions, hardly armed predecessors. Our manufactures have not only very much increased in amount, but the sense of beauty has been extensively developed amongst our workmen. You will often hear it said that money goes less far than it used to do in this country, but that, except as to articles of which the supply is very limited, such as the finest pictures and the rarest wines, is to a great extent a delusion, arising partly from one or two important items of house-keeping having become dearer, such as meat and servants' wages, but chiefly from the fact that we all live more expensively than people did a generation ago. A thousand sovereigns coming into any man's pocket, in the year 1876, will enable him to buy, if he knows how to employ them judiciously, many more of the pleasures and advantages of life than they would have done in the year 1847. Look round in every direction, and you will find that in all ways England is a better and a pleasanter place to live in, for all classes, than it was in 1847.

If the generation to which I belong and the generation to which you belong do their duty and are wise, the historians of the last five-and-twenty years of this century will have even a more wonderful tale of prosperity to tell.

[*Address at Clifton College, 1876.*]

KEEP YOUR VIEWS OF MEN AND THINGS EXTENSIVE.

Do you, such of you as may devote yourselves to politics, take care that no narrowness of this kind can be brought against you? Be English first of all, and last of all; but be European—not to say Cosmopolitan—into the bargain. Above all things get betimes such a grasp of the great *literatures* of the modern world as may enable you, when you come to deal with the *politics* of the modern world, to find your bearings, where others grope as pitifully as the generation to which I belong saw many English politicians do, in 1864, in 1866, and in 1870. [*As above.*]

THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION.

It is the glory of our Constitution that it has had the power of accommodating itself to the change of times, and has grown ever more and more favourable to the liberty of the subject, while it kept intact all the graceful phraseology and habits of the olden day. In a remarkable poem called "Crowned and Discrowned," worthy to be quoted in this place, whose chief connection with the great stream of history was, I suppose, through the landing of the Chevalier de St. George in our bay, a living writer has described Charles Edward looking on at the Coronation of George III, and has made him say :

"I must see your May-game ritual ; see you give the Crown and Globe ;
I must see your German masquing in my sire's Dalmatic robe ;
For ye keep our sacred symbols, Edward's Staff and Edward's Crown ;
Ye that build a throne for strangers, hurled your native monarchs down."

We however, who look at the matter with other eyes, can see that in this is the greatest merit of our constitution. It reverences the past whenever the past is good, or even harmless. but infuses a new spirit into the ancient forms. The greatest living orator of the Latin races told his countrymen: "Do not let us deceive ourselves with the puerile pride that we have good laws. What is essential is that these laws should be carried into effect. That is why, to the Latin Constitutions correctly written, commented on by great orators, built on metaphysical principles, with architectural proportions and Greek façades, the common sense of humanity prefers the Saxon constitutions, a monstrous and Gothic work of the Middle Age, written in barbarous Latin, hidden away in the corners of the Archives, sometimes without any known text, but whose rights are a living reality, and extend their beneficent shade by land and by sea, wherever waves the glorious flag of Old England." Castelar hit the right mark when he said our constitution was good, because the rights we enjoy under it are a living reality; but how can you keep the rights which are granted by a constitution, which nowhere exists in writing, a living reality except by constant watchfulness? Relax that watchfulness, and your constitution will soon cease to be a good one—soon cease to accommodate itself to the constant changes of society—soon become a straight waistcoat, instead of a coat of mail.

[*At Peterhead, September 6th, 1878.*]

SOCIETY.

People are in the habit of finding it strange that the majority of the electorate in our generation has so often been right, when what is called "Society" has been wrong.

But, after all, how should "Society" have particularly sound opinions about public affairs, or indeed any affairs

except its own trifles? "Society" contains a certain number of persons who are as hard-working and as able to form sound, if not sounder, judgments than any persons in the country, but they constitute but a small fraction of "society," and are indeed rather *in* it than *of* it. Their opinions are not what Mr. Hutton means by the opinions of "Society." What is "Society"? "Society" is a collective name for a large number of men and women, sufficiently well off to be idle, who spend their time for the most part in amusing themselves and each other. What is there in their pursuits to cultivate their intelligence more highly, if as highly as the intelligence of the artisan is cultivated by his handicraft? What is, so to speak, the life-history of these people? For the first few years of their existence they are, both boys and girls, brought up, in these latter days, pretty sensibly; then the boys are sent to school, where they are largely occupied in pretending to obtain an infinitesimal acquaintance with two ancient languages, and that science which has least to do with the ordinary duties of the citizen. Nearly the whole of the time which is not occupied in these but slightly cultivating pursuits is given to out-of-door amusements; the whole public opinion of the little world in which they live is against study and in favour of idleness, and the ardent desire of all except a mere fraction is to arrive at that happy period when they, too, will be masters of hounds, or have moors and rivers in Scotland unless indeed they are content with the humbler and nearer aspiration of getting great scores in the cricket field, or being heroes in the boats. Their sisters, meanwhile, are receiving an education far less contemptible in its subjects, and immeasurably less exposed to bad influences of many kinds, but in which far too much attention is paid to mere accomplishment, and far too little to what strengthens and informs the mind. Then, again, if they have any serious elements in their characters, these almost always bring them under the

influence of a church which has been, and is, almost invariably wrong on all political questions. The young people meet again—the men fresh from the University, or with commissions in the more fashionable regiments, the girls emancipated from their school-room—after having, during the whole course of their education, been exposed to influences almost exclusively in favour of conserving the existing order of things, hostile, that is, to what I hold to be the manifest destiny of man—progress by the amendment and alteration of the existing order of things, under the conjoint influence of cultivated intelligence and of extraordinary men.

When they once more meet in their emancipated state and become a portion of “society,” they do little or nothing, as I have said, but amuse themselves and each other. The wonder is, not that they are habitually wrong about questions of politics, but that they are not as bad as certain misleaders of the masses have sometimes represented them to be.

[*Nineteenth Century*, May 1878.]

PRESTIGE.

Liberals generally dislike the word *prestige*, because it makes them think of *prestidigitation*—sleight-of-hand, Beaconsfieldism, brag; but estimation, *prestige* in a good sense, is an important national asset so to speak. He does very unwisely who forgets that it is so.

[*At Elgin*, September 1879.]

THE ELECTION OF 1874.

Nothing was further from the thoughts of the nation when it returned the Parliament of 1874 than that that Parliament would be mainly occupied with foreign affairs. The history of what occurred was given to perfection by the man who said, “The parsons and the publicans have let in the sinners.”

Petty questions and little spites possessed the minds of the men who were the active agents of the change, but it was caused much more by Liberal inaction in some places and electioneering blunders in others, than by those agents. The most superstitious incumbent, the most assiduous frequenter of the public-house, might well have thought twice about his vote, the most crotchety-mongering or apathetic Liberal might have raised his voice for united and vigorous action, if he could have foreseen that events of the greatest magnitude were preparing, and that the question before him was whether England was to be given up in dark and difficult times to the guidance of "audacity and pugnacity untempered by sagacity."

No one however foresaw this, and the majority voted under the joint influence of "beer and fear" as intelligently as the man who did his best to ostracise Aristides simply because he was bored by hearing him called "the just," while too many Liberals pressed their crotchets to the bitter end.

It is well known too that the majority of votes cast at the last election were cast in favour of the Liberals. Their defeat was owing to numerous small defeats, the result in more than twenty cases of running too many candidates and which, while showing clearly that a trifling majority was against them in a variety of electoral colleges, said little or nothing as to the opinion of the country.

[*Foreign Policy, Macmillan, 1880.*]

THE TRUE "PRIMATO."

The chiefs of our crowned Democracy, whether Liberal or Conservative, must act upon a thoroughly well-considered system of policy.

What then should that system of policy be?

It should be a policy which abhors aggression, which tries to promote peace everywhere, which, while always letting it

be clearly seen that we possess sufficient force to make it highly imprudent for any one to assail us, behaves in the society of nations as men of the world behave in ordinary society, with as little inclination to take as to give offence—a policy which recognises the truth that nations become great, not by squandering their resources in Quixotic enterprises, but by husbanding them; and that true glory depends not upon military success, which is at best splendid misfortune, but upon brilliant achievements in the arts of peace, upon wealth wisely and nobly used for public and private purposes; upon long lists of great statesmen, great poets, great historians, great artists, great orators, great men of science; upon thinking first the thoughts which other nations adopt and building up first the institutions which other nations imitate; upon deserving to obtain from the future the praise of having been wise and just. That, and that alone, entitles any people to claim for itself the first place among the nations.

[*Foreign Policy*, Macmillan, 1880.]

MR. GLADSTONE'S FIRST GOVERNMENT.

Did ever any Administration carry its promises more literally into effect than that which fell in 1874? Would it not be quite easy to show by a reference to the election speeches of 1868 that its members promised to abolish the Irish Church; they did abolish the Irish Church; that they promised to reduce expenditure; they did reduce expenditure—that they promised to abolish purchase in the army; they did abolish purchase in the army; that they promised to create a general system of primary education for England, Wales, and Scotland; they did create a general system of primary education for England, Wales, and Scotland—that they promised to withdraw the troops from many of the colonies; they did withdraw the troops from

those Colonies, to the great and lasting advantage, not of us only, but of them.

[*At Newtown, in Montgomeryshire, October 1879.*]

1874 TO 1879.

The nation has already slept more than five years. Five precious years, which, if they had been used like those which immediately preceded them, would have made this great Empire far stronger, far richer, far happier, and far more able to meet the competition of its rivals than it is now, are gone irretrievably. “*Pereunt et imputantur*”—“The hours perish and are counted against us”—was the motto which the late administration placed upon the dial, which told them the time, but the first act of the present administration was to change two letters in the inscription: “*Pereant et imputentur*”—“*Let the hours perish and be counted against us*”—was the new reading. Rest was to be the order of the day, or rather of the night, and even the sentinels posted round the slumbering camp wore on their caps that truly military motto, which the troops of the Bishop of Hildesheim are said to have worn on theirs—“Give peace in our time, O Lord.” Even in these days of scientific gardening men do not gather figs of thistles, and I presume that no one expected the Conservatives, when they were once in power with a majority behind them, to make many salutary changes. No one for example looked to them for any advance in the direction of religious liberty. For that I fear we shall have to wait till the country passes a Burial Bill at the polls—and puts ministers in it.

[*As above.*]

THE “DECREPITUDE” OF ENGLAND.

The very last words of the speech are the following:—“If England is old she is not decrepit, and has still within her

daring and elasticity." Here again is an attempt to raise a false issue. When did the Liberal party say that "England was decrepit," or that it was wanting in "daring and elasticity"? What the Liberal party does say is this, that the powers of England, although very great, have, like all human things, their limits and are not capable of infinite expansion; further that those powers will not carry her very far unless they are used with a reasonable amount of common sense, and in some tolerable accordance with the laws by which the world is governed. A bull is a very powerful animal, but if he were to charge the flying Scotchman he would be putting his great powers to a use which would bring him but little advantage.

[*Speech at Northallerton, February 23rd, 1880.*]

THE MINORITY OF THE MINORITY.

I entirely agree with his (Lord Arthur Russell's) conclusion that "there is no disagreeable confession to make, and that the uneducated masses are only in the right when led by right-minded leaders." The whole art of politics, worthy of the name, in our day, appears to be to try to get the ideas of "the minority of the minority" stamped as deep as possible on, and spread as wide as possible amongst, the masses; and it is in the belief that "the minority of the minority" has succeeded in doing that in the past, and will succeed more in doing it in the future, that I am, like Lord Arthur, a Liberal politician.

If it were not for this confidence, I should "despair of the republic," recant most things I have said since I entered Parliament, cry *peccavi* with reference to all the more important votes I have given, and look out for an enlightened despot.

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The force which has lifted man from the first humble beginnings in a far, far-off time, which the science, hardly yet a generation old, of pre-historic archæology has revealed to us, has been the power of the intellect. That power has gradually separated itself into two very distinct influences, or methods, of acting upon public affairs, to the first of which we may give the name of genius, enthusiasm, spiritual insight; to the second, that of cultivated intelligence.

No good influence comes from the mass either of those who are rich in this world's goods, or of those who are poor in them. All good influences come from "the minority of the minority," or from gifted personalities who spring up here and there, quite as often amongst the latter as amongst the former.

The question whether a particular class at a particular time does, or does not, come to wiser decisions in politics than another, depends wholly upon whether it is, or is not, more affected by the ideas of those gifted individuals, and more teachable by cultivated intelligence. For a time these two great forces often act in different directions, but the work of the men of genius only becomes a possession for ever in so far as it is ratified by cultivated intelligence.

Now, for some generations, in the west of Europe the mass of the people has been more affected by these forces than have the "higher orders," and has consequently had a far larger share in shaping the state of things in which we are living, and that towards which we are moving, than have the "higher orders." But this has been the case not the least in virtue of any innate superiority, such as their flatterers and deceivers speak of, but solely because from a variety of reasons they have been more under the guidance of the "minority of the minority."

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In every well-ordered State, call it Monarchy or Republic,

or what you will, the "minority of the minority" must be the guiding force, but the nearer that a State approaches to being a democracy, the more care must the "minority of the minority" take, not only to be right but to *seem* right, not only to be recognised by those whom they would lead as *safe*, but as *sympathetic*. Since the great changes of 1867 and 1868 this has become very apparent, both in North and South Britain. We have a more impulsive constituency to deal with than we had. Well, then, what should the "minority of the minority" do—flatter prejudices, encourage the masses to listen only to the counsels of passion? Surely not! That is the way in which great States are ruined. The "minority of the minority," while never concealing that it thinks it has a right to lead, should endeavour to place itself at the point of view of the masses, to understand what they feel, and to help them, if they are wrong, to take a correcter view. This will in the long run be the wise, as it is unquestionably the honest policy; but it involves a good deal of trouble. It involves, for instance, at this moment, for that small but important fraction of the "minority of the minority" which is formed by the political leaders of the Liberal party, not the base line of conduct which has been lately recommended to them—the following, namely, the example set by their opponents of harassing the Government of the day by petty guerilla warfare in the House of Commons—but the drawing up of a clear programme of policy, and the discussion and explanation of that policy on many thousand platforms. We are in the midst of a bad decade of the century—a decade, marked by the triumph of charlatanism in politics—a decade marked by a bad tone in "Society," a tone of which a painful record will remain, for the condemnation of a better age, in the files of the new class of journals which has sprung up for its amusement and for that of all the vilest elements in the community outside its pale. The

cultivated intelligence of the country must try to make the next decade better by appealing to those classes which, being brought more in contact with the sterner realities of life, are more inclined to seriousness than the "roses and the nightingales" of "society;" and it is doing so to an extent which makes one hope that the present period will not be of any very long duration.

[*Nineteenth Century*, May 1878.]

